

## ART. XXI.—*Ancient Geography and Civilization of Maharashtra.*<sup>1</sup>

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The abbreviations employed herein are—

A. G. I.—Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India

A. S. W. I.—Archæological Survey of Western India (Reports of)

B. G. or Bom. G.—The volumes of the Bombay Gazetteer

Bom. S. S.—Bombay Sanskrit Series

B. R.—Buddhist Records of the Western World

Cor. Ins. I. or C. I.—Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum

E. I.—Epigraphia Indica

I. A.—Indian Antiquary

J. B. R. A. S.—Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society

J. R. A. S.—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain

S. B. I.—Sacred Books of the East Series

S. B. H.—Sacred Books of the Hindus

In the case of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata the Bombay edition has been used unless otherwise expressly stated.

### THE ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY OF MAHARASHTRA

The subject of the present essay is the Ancient Geography of Maharashtra as collected from Indian and non-Indian sources.

By 'Ancient Geography' I mean Geography from the earliest times, about 1300 A. D., when the modern period of the history of Maharashtra is generally held to begin. Within the limits of time thus prescribed, I propose to deal with many of the topics that are treated in ordinary manuals of Geography in modern times, such as the origin of the name of Maharashtra, the extent of territory comprised in it, its political divisions, mountains, rivers, cities, towns, sacred places, population, castes and communities, trade and communications, language and religion, political administration, &c. Though I am no means professing to write the ancient History of Maharashtra, which subject has already been treated by a master mind (viz. Sir Ramkrishna Bhindarkar) it will often be necessary for me to discuss

questions that may be thought with greater propriety to belong to the province of ancient History. But ancient History and Geography are very closely connected and the treatment of one cannot but stray into the domain of the other. The two cannot be kept separate in water-tight compartments. History and Geography always act and re-act upon each other.

Before proceeding further it will be well to indicate the various sources which shed light on the ancient Geography of India in general and of Maharashtra in particular.

### 1.—Indian Sources—

#### (a) Sanskrit Literature—

1. Ancient Vedic Literature
2. Panini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali
3. The two epics Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata
4. The Purāṇas such as Vāyu, Matsya, Viṣṇu, Mārkaṇḍeya, Bhāgavata
5. Astronomical works, such as the Brihatsaṃhitā, the Suryasiddhanti
6. Dramas, poems and romances such as the Bīḥramīyaṇī of Rājasekhara, the Meghadūta, the Rāghu vaṃśa, the Dīśakumara Chariṭa.
7. Other Sanskrit works such as the Kamasūtra, the Yogibhāṣyā of Vyāsa, the Bṛhadāthamanjari, the Rājatarīngiṇī, the Kavyanūṣaṅgī of Hemachandra and Viṅbhata local Māhātmyas embodying traditional and often fanciful information.

#### (b) Buddhist Literature such as the Jātakas, the Dīpa Vaṃśa and Mithavāṃśa

#### (c) Jain Literature

#### (d) Inscriptions on stone and copper published in various books and journals

#### (e) Coins

\* Ancient coins have been of very great use in settling vexed questions in History. They are not however of much use in purely geographical questions. Still there are some inscribed with well known geographical names e.g. see *Japan's Indian Coins* pp. 24.

where we have the names 𑀧𑀲𑀭𑀺𑀢𑀺𑀓, 𑀧𑀲𑀭𑀺𑀢𑀺𑀓 1 point on coins of the 2nd and 3rd centuries B.C.

## II — Ancient non-Indian Sources—

- (a) Classical notices of India in the works of Herodotus, Hecataeus, Megasthenes, Arrian, Ptolemy, in the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea.
- (b) Accounts of Chinese Pilgrims such as Fa Hien, Hsuen Tsing I-tsing
- (c) Mahomedan writers, like those in Elliot's History of India, Vol I, and Alberuni
- (d) European travellers like Marco Polo, Farkh Odoric, Friar Jordanus

III — Modern works on History and antiquities such as the writings of Dr Bhandarkar, Dr Fleet, Mr Vincent Smith

## Earliest traces of intercourse with the Deccan.

As the ancient Aryans were settled in the Punjab there are naturally no references in the ancient Vedic literature to any place that belongs to the peninsula of India. The most ancient reference that points to the south is perhaps in the *Atareya Brahmana* (VII, 18), where the *Andhras*, *Pundras*,<sup>1</sup> *Śabaras*, *Pulindas* and *Mutibas*<sup>2</sup> are mentioned as degenerate tribes. So also in the same *Brahmana* (VII 34.9) the Prince *Bhima* is called *Vudarbhā* (of *Vidarbhā*, modern *Berar*) and is said to have received instruction from *Parvata* and *Narada* regarding the substitutes for *Soma* juice. Prof. Macdonell's *Vedic Index* says that *Vidarbhā* occurs as the name of a place only in the *Jaiminīya Upanishad Brahmana*, where *Māsālis* (dogs) are said to kill tigers. *Vidarbhā Kaupdīnya* is the name of a teacher mentioned in the first two *Vamsas* in the *Bṛihadaranyakopaniṣad* (II 6.3, IV, 6.21). *Vaudarbhā* is the patronymic of a *Bhargava* in the *Prāśnopanishad*. Prof. Macdonell sees a reference to *Reva* (*Narmada*) in the name *Revottara* that occurs in the *Satapatha Brahmana* several times (VII, 8.1, 17. VII, 9.3.1). These are almost the only notices in the Vedic literature that in any way point to places south of the *Vindhya*. From this we may safely conclude that even in the latest period of Vedic literature represented by the *Upanishads*, almost the whole of the country south of the *Vindhya* was *terra*

<sup>1</sup> The *Harvyadarsa* of Dand associates the city of *काञ्ची* with पुण्ड्रक इत्येव नामिदमपि यं परितः पुनर्नैविभूतिता । अस्ति काञ्चिपुरी गम्यामटवर्गश्चैव नृपा ॥ III 514. It is extremely doubtful whether the *Popuras* of the *Atareya* are identical with the पुण्ड्रक कम्प.

<sup>2</sup> त एतेषां पुण्ड्रक शबरा शुन्दिदा मुन्दिदा इत्युक्त्या बहवो मरुति वैष्णवान् दक्षिणां भूतिता ।



In the Mahābhārata the word Dakshinapatha occurs frequently. In the Sabha-parva (31-17) we are told that Shishudhva went to Dakshinapatha after conquering the Pandyas. From the Vanaparva we learn that Dakshinapatha was to be reached after crossing Avantī and mountain Rikshī.<sup>1</sup> In the Bhishma-parva we are told that Nila, King of Malushmati with troops called Nilayudhas from Dakshinapatha fought on the side of the Kauravas (Cil Ed of 1834 verse 575). In the Virāṭ-udgrat inscription (No. 1 in A. S. W. I. Vol. V, p. 60) Vedisiri is mentioned as the king of Dakshinapatha about 200 B. C. In the Ramayana, Dakshinapatha is enumerated along with Surashetra (II, 10-17). Patanjali (150 B. C.) in his Mahabhashya (on Panini, I, 1, 19) says that in Dakshinapatha a great lake is called Sarasi instead of "Saras". In the well-known Guntur inscription of the Kshatriya Rudradaman (150 A. D.) Sitakarna is spoken of as the king of Dakshinapatha.<sup>2</sup> One of the Nasik inscriptions mentions Dakshinapatha (A. S. W. I. IV, p. 110). The Allahabad stone pillar inscription of Samudragupta (middle of the 4th century A. D.) mentions several kings of Dakshinapatha conquered by that brilliant Gupta Emperor.<sup>3</sup> It is not necessary to refer to writers later than the 4th century A. D. Among ancient foreign books it is the Periplus (1st century A. D.) that first mentions Dakshinapades (Dakshinapatha).<sup>4</sup> Fa Hien (in India from 399 to 415 A. D.) speaks of a country called 'T'athsin' Dakshina, which seems to correspond with the narrower sense of Dakshinapatha (for which see further on). He says: "Going two yojanas south from this, there is a country called T'athsin. Here is a Sangharāma of the former Buddha Kasyapa. It is a construct

एत मण्डन्ति बहवः पयानो दक्षिणापथम् ।

अवनोद्वृण्वन्त च समतिक्रम्य पर्वतम् ॥

एष विन्ध्यो महाशैलः पयोणा च मण्डगा ॥

एष पथः विदर्भाणामसौ गच्छति कीसलान् ।

अतः परं च देशीय दक्षिणे दक्षिणापथः ॥

Vanaparva Chap. 61. 17-21.

This was said by Nila when leaving Nishadha. If properly interpreted these verses mean that while going from Nishadha to Dakshinapatha one had to cross the territory of Avantī (Eastern Malva) and Rikshī Parvata (probably the Satpura Range) that several roads led from Nishadha to Dakshinapatha and that Nishadha formed part of Dakshinapatha.

\* 'दक्षिणापथे हि मण्डन्ति सरसि सरयु इत्युच्यते ।' Vol. I p. 72 (Kailash). In another place he speaks of the Dakshinapades as being very fertile तद्विन्ध्यं विपतद्विन्ध्यं दक्षिणापथः Vol. I p. 8.

<sup>1</sup> I. A. Vol. VII p. 212. A. S. W. I. II p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> See Cor. Ins. I. V. I. III p.

<sup>3</sup> See I. A. Vol. VIII p. 102.

ed out of a great mountain of rock hollowed to the proper shape

The country of Utkal is precipitous and the roads dangerous.

I have illustrated the occurrence of the name Dakṣiṇapatha from the times of the Baudhayan Smṛiti (500 B.C.) to the times of Samudragupta and Prithu.

I shall next turn to other places in the peninsula of India referred to in ancient records.

Kaṭyaṇa in his Vartika has several important allusions to places in the south. He mentions a country named Mahishman (in his Vartika on Pāṇini IV 2 87) and the Paṇḍyas (in Vartika on Pāṇini IV 2 169). Is it too much to suppose that this country called Mahishman is identical with the Mahasamantala referred to in the Mahavamsa and with Mahishmati a city on the Narmada? The countries of Chola and Kerala are included in the Kambhojadigana<sup>2</sup> and Kishkindha is mentioned in the Parasharadigana (Pāṇini VI, 1, 157). The edicts of Aśoka furnish very interesting information about the peninsula of India. The 2nd Rock Edict mentions the Cholas Paṇḍyas Satyaputa and Ketala (Kerala) puta.<sup>3</sup> The 5th Rock Edict speaks of the Rasikas and the Ptenikas and the Aparantas.<sup>4</sup> Who the Kshikas were is not settled beyond doubt. General Cunningham thought it to be a name of Surashtra (Kathiawar). The word corresponds to the Sanskrit word Rishirika and may have been employed to denote

<sup>1</sup> See Beale's Prithu Vol. I p. LXVIII.

<sup>2</sup> The prevalence of the name of Dakṣiṇapatha gave rise to the term Utkal for the whole or some portion of Northern India. In the Harshacharita we read that Rājya-radhana was sent to Utkal to vanquish the Hūyas (Hem S. S. P. 20). In a Chalukya grant of the Emperor Harsha is called the so-called उत्तरापथ (J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. 24 p. 26 श्रीमदुत्तरापथाधिपतिभीहर्षराजवीरलब्धपरनामधेय ... श्रीपुलकेशिवरम) In another grant Pulakasa II is described as 'समस्तसक्तसकलौत्तरापथेश्वरभीहर्षवर्धनराज' श्रीपुलकेशिवरमहाराज (I. A. S. 18 p. 46). In the Yājñatīka (Cowell Vol. IV p. 30 No. 454) a king महावर्मा is said to have reigned in उत्तरापथ in the Kām district. A Buddhist inscription of the 10th Century has उत्तरापथ for Northern India (I. A. S. Vol. 17 pp. 30-300). The बृहत्संहिता (94) and the भागवतपुराण (92. 6) refer to उत्तरापथ. Is Otarsha a Naṅk inscription (B. G. Vol. 26 p. 387; A. S. W. I. Vol. 1 p. 4) a Prakrit equivalent of उत्तरापथ? The Commentator of the कामसूत्र identifies उत्तरापथ with Utkal (II 5 p. 220). Horse dealers from उत्तरापथ are spoken of in the Pāṇika Vinayapitaka Vol. III p. 6).

<sup>3</sup> कम्बोजादिभ्य इति ष्वत्त्वम् शक्ति on II 1 173.

<sup>4</sup> See A. S. W. I. Vol. II p. 46.

See A. S. W. I. Vol. II p. 2.

the people of that country that afterwards came to be called Mahārāshtra. The Pitenikas are generally regarded to be so denominated after Pratihthina (Modern Pathan). The words 'Anye Āpānta' occurring in the 5th Edict at Khalsi, Ujain and Dhauli, if interpreted as meaning 'other western countries,' lead to the conclusion that the Rishikas and Pitenikas must have been some people in the west. The 13th Rock Edict mentions the Cholas, Pandya, Andhras, Palindas and couples the Bhojas and Pitenikas (Pitenikya at Khalsi) together.<sup>1</sup> The Bhojas ruled in the Berars for several centuries.<sup>2</sup> The Vartikas of Katyavina mention the Bhojas as Kshatriyas.<sup>3</sup> The Bhīrhut Stupa (200 B.C.) in the Central Provinces records in an inscription on one of the pillars of the railing a gift from Gorikhita (Gorakshita) of Nasik.<sup>4</sup> The Nanaghat inscription points out that about 200 B.C. the country about Junnar was the seat of civilization and Brahmanical culture. Patanjali in his Mahābhāṣya notices Kanchīpura, Kerala, Mahishmati, Nāsikya (Nasik) and Vaidarbha.<sup>5</sup> In the times of the Suttanipita we meet with the story that the disciples of Buddha with their faces turned to the north went to Patthiana of Alaka first, then to Mahissati and then to Ujjeni.<sup>6</sup> The Periplus of the Erythraean sea speaks of Pathana (modern Pathan) and Tagara as two specially important market towns of Dikshinabades (Dikshinapatha).<sup>7</sup> Ptolemy also mentions Buthana as the royal seat of Ptolemaios (Pulumayi).<sup>8</sup>

Taking all that has been said above about Dakshinapatha and the notices of various places and countries in the peninsula of India, we can affirm that several centuries before the Christian era the whole of the peninsula from Cape Comorin to the Narmada had been explored, that it contained populous and prosperous cities at that period and that it was divided into several well-organized kingdoms.

I shall now try to point out the extent of the country known as Dakshinapatha. The word seems to have been used in some cases for the whole of the peninsula from the Setu to the Narmada, as for

<sup>1</sup> See A. S. IV. 1 Vol. II pp. 82-87.

<sup>2</sup> भीमरुक् king of the Bhojas in Bhujakata and called ruler of the दाक्षिणात्य subordinated to उरामिष. See for references J. R. A. S. I. r. 1908 p. 315.

<sup>3</sup> See Vārka, on 9/2 IV. 286.

<sup>4</sup> Cunningham & Bhārhut St. pa. p. 138.

<sup>5</sup> 'नासिकगौरमितय धर्मो दान वसुकस भारियाय.'

<sup>6</sup> Vol. II p. 298 (काञ्चीपुर, काञ्चीपुरक) Vol. II p. 290 (केरल) Vol. II p. 35 (माहिष्मती), Vol. III, p. 40 (नासिक) 'नासिक नगरमिति सफाशादिषु पाठ करियते.'

<sup>7</sup> See S. B. E. Vol. 10 (Part 2) p. 288.

<sup>8</sup> Scholl's Periplus p. 47. See 1.

<sup>8</sup> Mandonia's Periplus p. 25.

example in the grant of the eastern Chulukya King Vishnu-Vardhana Rājārāja I, which speaks of the founder Vishnu Vardhana as having conquered the seven and a half lakh Dakṣiṇapatha<sup>1</sup> between the Setu and the Narmadā. So also in the inscription of Samudraguṇṭha Pishapurī (modern Pishapuram in the Madras Presidency), Eranda prithi (Erandol in Khandesh), Kinchil Vengṭ and Devirāshṭrī are included in Dakṣiṇapathī, i.e., it covered the whole of the peninsula from the Narmadā to Cape Comorin. The Purāṇas understand the word Dakṣiṇapatha in the same sense (See Viṣṇu Chap. 45, 109 ff., Matsya Chap. 114, Brīhma Chap. 27, 54 ff.) But the word Dakṣiṇapathī was usually understood as designating a more limited territory excluding Mahār and the Tūhī countries and covering a large portion of modern Barar, the Central Provinces, the Vizian's Dominions and the whole of Mahārāshṭrā excluding the Konkan i.e., the country a little below the Narmadā and above the Kṛṣṇā\*. As Sītadeta is said in the Mahābhārata to have gone to Dakṣiṇapathī after conquering the Purvīya, it follows that the Pāṇḍya territory in the extreme south of India was not included in Dakṣiṇapathī<sup>2</sup>. The Viṣṇu purāṇa mentions the Godāvarī, the Kṛṣṇā and others as rivers of Dakṣiṇapatha rising in the Sāhyā mountain but does not style the Tapi and the Narmadā in that way. Hence it may be assumed that they were not looked upon by the author of that Purāṇa as included in Dakṣiṇapatha. The Periplus<sup>3</sup> seems to have included in Dakṣiṇabides all the country from Barygaza (Bombay) to Naura and Tyndis the first markets of Dravirica (i.e., the Dravida country). The term 'Deccan' in modern times is similarly employed to designate the whole of the peninsula from the Narmadā to Cape Comorin<sup>4</sup>. The commentator of the Kamasūtra

<sup>1</sup> See P. I, Vol. IV p. 375. 'सेतुनर्मदापथ साधमत्तश्च दक्षिणपथः पाल्यमास' राजशेखर न. ४५ बाल्यमास्य VI Act (Benares Pandit Vol. III for 1868-69, p. 131) speaks of Revā (Narmadā) as the dividing line between आर्यावर्त and दक्षिणपथ. 'या किल भगवन् आर्यावर्तदक्षिणपथयोर्विभागेखा'.

<sup>2</sup> See Foucher n. 1. 4 Vol. 16 at p. 4. Bom. G. Vol. I part 2 p. 133.

<sup>3</sup> सभाषर 31. 16-18 'युयुये पाण्डेयराजिन दिवस दकुलानुव ॥ न जिन्या स महाबाहु भयया दक्षिणपथम् । गुहामासास्यामास किण्विषो लोकिविभुताम् ॥ तदा रत्नानुवादाय पुन माहिषमती यया ।

<sup>4</sup> See S. 101's Periplus p. 64.

<sup>5</sup> In this sense it is that part of मरुतवर्ष, which was beyond the pale of Āryāvarta. The Baudhāyana Smṛiti, 2. 1. 1. 1. The country of the वाह्यी lies to the east of the region where the river Sarasvatī happens to the west of the black forest to the north of the पारिषाप म. 612 and to the south of विमलपथ\* (शशिनवृक्षान्तरपद्मानवृक्षान् दक्षिणेन विम-



says that Dakshinapatha is the country to the south of the Narmada. It also more usually denotes the territory between the Narmada and the Krishna and pretty closely corresponds with Maharashtra when used in an extended sense.<sup>1</sup> The term Dakshinapatha was thus applied in the centuries preceding and immediately following the Christian era to that territory which was also called Maharashtra in later times.

## MAHARASHTRA

I shall now take up the question as to the early notices of Maharashtra. The term Maharashtra as the name of a country does not occur so far as is at present known in any record before the Christian era. It does not occur in the *Kinnavansa* nor in the *Mahabharata*, though the *Puranas* mention the country of Maharashtra (V. 30. 45. 110 and Brahma 27. 53 and Virakūdeva 57. 46 all of which put the Mahishakas or Mahishakas after Mah-rashtra, while the *Matsya* Chap. 114 reads Nivarashtra before Mahishaka). Probably the earliest unmistakable reference to Maharashtra occurs in the *Mahavamsa* the Chronicle of Ceylon the traditional date of which is 439—474 A.D.<sup>2</sup> The *Mahavamsa* mentions that certain Theros were sent as missionaries to several countries by Moggaliputta Tissa in the 17th year of the reign of Asoka. He deputed the Thero Majjhantiko to Kashmir and Gundhara and the Thero Mahadeva to Mahasamandala. He deputed the Thero Rakkhito to Vanavasi and the Thero Yonadhamma Rakkhito to Aparantika. He deputed the Thero Mahadhammarakkhito to Maharashtra the Thero Maharakkhito to the Yona country.<sup>3</sup> Then again we read

वत्समुद्रं पारिवाय तदायवर्तं तस्मिन् य आन्तरं स प्रमाणम् । गणायमुनयान्तरमित्युक्ते  
दौधापनम् । 1. 17-18 S. R. E. Vol. 4. p. 473 Patanjali in 24 Mahabhashya on the  
samantivof आयवर्त ('भागादशान् प्रयत्नात्कबमान् दक्षिणेन हिमवत्समुन्नेन  
पारिवायम्' Keithon, Vol. I. 475 and Vol. III. 74) The *Menussmriti* II p. 351 places  
आयवर्त between the eastern and western oceans and between the Himalayas and the Vindhya  
(आप्तमुद्रानुवे पूर्वाग्राममुद्रानुपभिमान् । तयोरेवांतरमिर्वैरायावर्तं तदुर्बुधा ॥) The *Amarakosh*  
says 'आयवर्तं पुण्यभूमिर्भय विध्यहिमयामयो

<sup>1</sup> See V. A. Smith's "Early History of India," Chap. 5 p. 421 (3rd edition). *Atanga's Ancient India*, p. 20. Dr. Bhattacharya appears to take the term Deccan in this restricted sense in his History of the Deccan.

<sup>2</sup> But Dr. Fleet holds that the *Mahavamsa* was composed between 520-540 A.D. *J. R. A. S.* 1907 p. 312. See also Introduction to the *Mahavamsa* by Geiger and Bede p. XII. Mahasamandala reigned at the beginning of the 6th century after Christ. About this time the *Mahavamsa* was composed.

<sup>3</sup> Turpan & Mahasamandala p. 7. Geiger's *Mahavamsa* Chap. XII p. 81 and p. 81 see also V. 103 (103) (Kludenberg) Vol. III p. 34 the Samantaprasadha which mentions the same countries and in connection.

'the sanctified disciple Mahadharmma rakkhito repairing to Mahārāja preached the Mahimārada Kassapo Jātaka'.<sup>1</sup> The Bṛhat-saṃhita of Varahamihira (about 550 A.D.) mentions the people of Mahārashtra.<sup>2</sup> In the Ashoka inscription of 634 A.D. the Chuduka Satyāditya Pulakaś II is praised as having attained to the position of the overlord of the three Mahārashtrakas.<sup>3</sup> The famous Chinese traveller, Hiouen Tsiang who was in India between 629-645 A.D., names Mahārashtra as Moholich and gives very interesting and detailed information about it.<sup>4</sup> The Kāmasūtra in a coarse way registers the peculiarities of the women of Mahārashtra. The Prakrit grammar of Vararuchi refers to Mahārashtri as the Prakrit *par excellence*. That the term Mahārashtri when used for a Prakrit dialect, must be connected with the country of Mahārashtra is expressly stated by Dandin<sup>5</sup> (6th century A.D.)

The above data go to establish beyond the possibility of doubt that from the 5th century at all events the term Mahārashtra began to be employed as the name of a country.

But the matter does not rest here. We can urge though not without hesitation that the name Mahārashtra goes back to a few centuries before the Christian era. As the Mahāwamsa is based upon ancient traditions, it is not unlikely that the names of the various countries mentioned by it as the centres of the proselytising activities of Buddhist Missionaries had come down to it from ancient times and were not invented by it. Then we have to note that in several inscriptions at Nanaghat, Dhruva Kark and Kanheri (ranging from 200 B.C. to 200 A.D.) many donors have the appellation Mahārāṭhi prefixed to their names and family donors are designated Mahārāṭhi.<sup>6</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Turnour's Mahāwamsa p. 74

<sup>2</sup> बृहत्संहिता (heron ed.) 108 'भावे रसविशयिण पण्यसाकन्यका महाराष्ट्र'

<sup>3</sup> L.A. V. 1. 2, p. 248 ff अगमदधिपतित्वं यो महाराष्ट्रकाणां नवनवतिसहस्रपादभाजो प्रयाणाम् ॥'

<sup>4</sup> See Hearn's Buddhist Records of the Western World Vol. II p. 225 ff; Hearn's Life of Hiouen Tsiang p. 120. Bern. C. I. Part II p. 184; Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India p. 323 ff

<sup>5</sup> काव्यादर्श 1. 31 'महाराष्ट्रभाषा भाषो मङ्गल प्राकृत विदुः'

<sup>6</sup> See A. S. W. I. Vol. V p. 60 (Nanaghat No. 1) 'यदिभिरसि महारत्निके', Burgess and Bhagwanlal's cave temples of Western India, p. 24 (Dhruva cave inscription No. 2)

<sup>7</sup> महारत्निके कीमिकीपुत्रम विष्णुदत्तम *ibid.* p. 26 (Dhruva Cave No. 2) यहाभाषवाल्क्याय महादिव्य महारत्नियः 1. 13 f p. 28 (Kark inscription No. 2) 'महारत्निके गोपुत्रस अगिमिषणकस' A. S. W. I. Vol. V p. 86 (Kanheri No. 20) 'महामेजिय मालिकाय महारत्निय' 21 J. B. H. B. A. Vol. V p. 51 (Kark No. 20) महारत्निके

bearing of this on the origin of the term Maharashtra will be discussed later on. Scholars like Dr Stevenson and Dr Bhagwanlal think that the terms 'Mahārāṣṭhi' and 'Maharashtri' in these places mean 'great warrior' and 'wife of a great warrior' respectively. But I submit with great deference to these eminent scholars that there are serious objections against their interpretations. In the first place there is no great propriety in calling a person a 'Maharathi' (great warrior) in making a brief votive dedication. Moreover, if we scan the numerous inscriptions contained in the books referred to in the note above, we shall find that they generally register the donor's domicile, his residence, his rank and position, his clan or family, his occupation and his relationship by blood or otherwise to other people. In this light to interpret 'Mahārāṣṭhi' as meaning 'one who belongs to the country or clan of Maharashtra' would be very natural and appropriate. Besides it is not clear that all the donors to whose name the appellation 'Mahārāṣṭhi' is prefixed were such persons as to deserve the high sounding title 'Maharathi'. On the contrary some of them at least appear to have been persons of a more peaceful turn of mind. It will be seen from the inscriptions to be found at the places referred to above that the donor's name is almost invariably preceded by a word denoting his place of residence in the ablative or by some derivative word co-ordinated with the donor's name (wherever his place of residence or domicile is at all intended). There is no reason why this should not be so in the case of Maharathi or Mahārāṣṭhi. But the most formidable objection is that the interpretation entirely begs the question at issue. To those who affirm that the term 'Maharathi' signifies a person of the country or clan of Maharashtra it would not be a satisfactory answer to say that, as Maharashtra is specifically mentioned as a country only from the 5th Century A. D. the term 'Maharathi' must be interpreted differently. The only way of making their interpretation doubtful would be by showing that in parts of India other than Maharashtra and in connection with persons who could not have belonged to Maharashtra the term Maharathi is used in Prakrit epigraphical records of the centuries immediately preceding and following the Christian era in the sense of 'great warrior'.

I think therefore it is possible (I do not use a stronger phrase) that Maharashtra was so called from about 200 B. C. (the age of the Naghat inscription) if not earlier.

#### THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME MAHARASHTRA

It is unfortunate that scholars are not at one as to the origin of the term Maharashtra. It was Molesworth who in his *Marathi Dictionary* (Intro. p. 2623) started the startling theory that Maharashtra was

so called after the Mahars, one of the lowest castes among Hindus, the members of which are untouchable. The Rev Dr John Wilson lent the weight of his authority to that theory.<sup>1</sup> He quotes the Marathi proverb मांश आहे तेथे महाराष्ट्रा आहे in support of his opinion and compares the word with Gurjara rashtra Saurashtra or Sura rashtra (the country of Suras). The idea of these venerable scholars seems to be that the Mahars represent the aboriginal races of the present Maharashtra, who were vanquished by the Aryan invaders from the north and that the conquerors called the land the conquered aborigines inhabited after the latter. I frankly own that I fail to understand how the Marathi proverb supports the theory that Maharashtra is the country of Mahars. All that the proverb literally means is that the Mahars are to be found in every village and it implies nothing more than the expression 'black sheep' does in English. This theory finds believers even now.<sup>2</sup> Oppert identifies the Mallas with the Mahars and says 'Maharashtra was also called 'Mallarashtra' the country of the Mallas. The Mallas are the same as Maras who are better known as Murs or Mhars. Mhar was eventually transformed into Mahar in fact both forms exist in modern Marathi. Two terms identical in meaning Mallarashtra and Maharashtra were thus used. The former dropped into oblivion and with the waning fortunes of the Mahars their connection with the name was soon forgotten and Maharashtra was explained as meaning the 'Great Kingdom' instead of the kingdom of Mahars or Mallas' (on the original inhabitants of Bharatavarhi 1893 p. 22 and foot note). A more uncritical passage than this it would be difficult to find. Has Dr Oppert brought forward any single epigraphic record of the ancient Mahar kings of Maharashtra? By what philological law does he identify Mallas with Mhar? Has he shown any ancient Sanskrit writings locating the Mallas in what is Maharashtra at present? Parvati which Dr Wilson identified with Ptolemy's Pouravaros, is not the name of a tribe but an official designation. It is the same as Patavari the holder of a Patta a royal or other grant on copper or a piece of cloth (i.e., a village or other officer). Reliance is placed on what the Mahars say as to their being the original inhabitants. Granting that they are so it does not necessarily follow that Maharashtra was so named after them. There are numerous scholars who dismiss this theory of the origin of the name Maharashtra as untenable. It is not explained how of all others it was the Mahars,

<sup>1</sup> See I. A. Vol. III p. 227

<sup>2</sup> See Baden-Powell in J. R. A. S. for 1899 p. 309, foot note a

<sup>3</sup> P. 2. See Sir Walter Elliot in I. A. Vol. 5 p. 108

who are lowest in the social scale that give a name to the country. In the case of the Gujjaras we can understand a country being designated after them as they were conquerors. Epigraphy has failed to bring forward the slightest trace of the conquest of Maharashtra by the Mahars at any period of history. There are scholars who would identify the Mahars with the Mihirs (Persian 'Mihir') and Mutrakas who were a branch of the Huns that under Toramana and Mihirakula overthrew the early Guptas in Kathiawar and in their turn met their match in the Senapati Bhatirka<sup>1</sup> of Valabhi. Granting for a moment the correctness of this identification it is not clear how Maharashtra came to be called after them. Ancient history does not tell us when the Mihirs or Mutrakas overran the Mitha country as they are said to have overrun Sindh, Rajputana and Kathiawar. If the Mahars were like the Mutrakas conquerors no explanation is offered why they fell so low in the social scale in subsequent times. But the best reason for rejecting this theory of the identity of the Mutrakas with the Mihirs and of Maharashtra being named after the Mahars is furnished by the data mentioned above as to the times when Maharashtra came to be so called. The Huns under Toramana and Mihirakula fought the Gupta Emperors in the latter half of the 5th Century A. D.<sup>2</sup> But we have already seen that the Mahavamsa composed about the same time mentions Maharashtra as the name of a country. Hence the term Maharashtra had come into vogue at least as early as the time when the Huns under Toramana were fighting Skandigupta. If we accept the theory that Maharashtra was so named after the Mahars by the Aryan invaders in the dawn of the history of the Deccan it is not unreasonable to expect that the earliest references to the country south of the Vindhya should mention Maharashtra. Instead of the latter we find such names as Vastika and Dakshinaputra. Eminent scholars like Dr Fleet think that the earliest mention of Maharashtra as a country is that in the Mahabharata. But it can never be said that the present Maharashtra was conquered by the Aryan invaders only in the 4th Century A.D. or thereabouts. Aryan culture had spread over Maharashtra several centuries before the date of the Mahabharata.

<sup>1</sup> Oppert (in his book mentioned above p. 47) says that Mihirwara (Ajmer) and Mewar (Jodhpur) are the ancient home of the Mihirs. See I. L. Vol. 3 pp. 36-37 where the Mihirs are traced to the Puaras now called Mewars in Rajputana. *Indo Rom. G. I.* part 1, p. 37. For the identification of the Mutrakas with the Mihirs, the Vahli or Vahli tribe. *Bom. G. I.* part 1, pp. 115-16. Dr Fleet (in his collection of inscriptions, p. 12) suggests that the Mutrakas, that is, the Mahars, were the particular family or clan among the Huns to which तौरमण and मिहिरकुल belonged. But see against this J. R. A. S. for 1903, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> See *Cor. Ins. I. L. A.* pp. 49 and 50. *Ins. to A. I. L.* part 1, p. 4.

What then is the origin of the term *Maharāshtra*? Two solutions seem possible. The one is very ably set forth by Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar in his 'Early History of the Deccan'. "The Rāshtrakas or—according to Mansehra version Rāṭrakas, corresponding to the Sanskrit Rāshtrakas, were very likely the people of Maharashtra, for a tribe of the name of Rāṭras has from the remotest times held political supremacy in the Deccan. One branch of it assumed the name Rāshtrakūṭas and governed the country before the Chālukyas acquired power. In later times chieftains of the name of Rāṭas governed Sagaradhivārta or Saundattā in the Belgaum District. Bhojas we know ruled over the country of Vidarbha or Berar and also in other parts of the Deccan. Just as the Bhojas called themselves Mahābhōjas, the Rāshtrakas Rāṭas, Rāṭhas or Rāṭras called themselves Mahārāṭhas or Mahārāṭhas and thus the country in which they lived came to be called Mahārāṭha the Sanskrit for which is Mahāraṣṭra<sup>1</sup>".

This is one way of explaining the origin of the term *Maharashtra*. The only objection against this explanation is that the connecting links are rather weak. The Rāshtrakūṭas attained to the sovereignty of the Deccan only in the 8th Century A.D. while the term *Maharashtra* came into vogue at least three centuries before that period. It is the Andhrabāhuvāras or Satavāhanas the Vākāṭakas and the Chālukyas that held the sovereignty of the Deccan in succession from 200 B.C. to about 750 A.D. With great diffidence I make bold to suggest another explanation of the term *Maharashtra*. *Maharashtra* means 'great or wide country'. From the remotest times of which historical records are available there was a great forest running through the peninsula of India variously designated Mahābhūtarā or Dīpābhūtarā or Mahābhūti. As the great forest came to be gradually cleared up and explored as towns and villages spring up, as population increased this great tract of forest land came to be called Mahāraṣṭra as also Mahākan

<sup>1</sup> *Donn. Gl.* Vol. I part 2 p. 106. But see *Donn. Gl.* Vol. I p. 105, note 2, where Dr. Fleet criticises the views of Dr. Bhandarkar and takes Mahāraṣṭra as meaning 'wide or a great waste' and calls attention to such Marathi words as *राष्ट्र* *राष्ट्र* & *भारत* etc. It is to be noted that the *राष्ट्र* names themselves in the *राष्ट्र* of Rajasthan and hence and that *Rāṭra* is an abbreviation of *राष्ट्र* and not the original name of which *राष्ट्र* is an amplification as Dr. Bhandarkar thinks. See *Donn. Gl.* I. a. p. 105. There is much to be said in favour of Dr. Fleet's remarks. If the term *राष्ट्र* and *राष्ट्र* can be easily shown to be closely connected with the idea of 'wide' or 'great' then the meaning he assigns to Mahāraṣṭra would be acceptable for centuries ago before Persian history does not tell us that the *राष्ट्र* had become *राष्ट्र* as it is written at the time when the name Mahāraṣṭra was coined for the first time.

Ura<sup>1</sup> It was probably during the time of the Andhrabhṛtyas or Sūtavāhanas that Mahārāshtra came to be so called (i.e., about 200 B.C.) The Sūtavāhanas were very powerful and their dominions extended from the Coromandel Coast on the east to the Ghats on the west. Paithan was their capital in the western portion of the Deccan. There are many countries the latter portion of the names of which ends in Rāshtra, the first portion being not always easily explicable. Kathua-

<sup>1</sup> See Fargier's note on the Geography of Rīmāyana J. R. A. S. for 1804 p. 248. He comes to the conclusion that in the times of the Rāmāyana Dandakā appears to have been a general name which comprised all the forest from Bundelkhand down to the river K. shipā. According to the list of Tribes in the Vānaparva (Chap. 85 40-42) the Dandakā rānya seems to have been located somewhere between the Tāp and Pāyohgi on the one hand and Central India on the other. Burn & Vol. 23 p. 72, says that eight places in the Daput District such as Auvā, Bādām, Bāgalkot, &c. are connected by local tradition with the Dandakā forest. The Rīmāyana speaks of a city called Vājayanta in Dandakāraṇya अयोध्याकाण्ड ५.३ 'दिशामाश्रय केकेपी दक्षिणी दण्डकात् प्रति ।

वैजयन्तमिति कथति पुर यत्र तिमिरज्ज ॥' Is Vājayanta the same as Vajayant the Byzantium of Ptolemy? The Vāyakhṛdaya P. rāya enumerates the Vaidarbhas along with the Dandakas (Chap. 57 47 'वेदर्भा दण्डके महे') The Pēnplus after referring to the region called Dakṣiṇabhadra says 'The inland country back from the coast toward the east comprises many desert regions and great mountains and all kinds of wild beasts leopards, tigers, elephants, enormous serpents, hyenas, baboons of many sorts and many populous nations as far as the Ganges. (Schoff's edition p. 42, Sec. 50). Hsueh-shan Tsang's travels contain a reference to a wild forest between K. ng hu napulo (कौकणपुर) and Moholacha (महाराष्ट्र). From th. going north-west we enter a great forest wild, where savage beasts and bands of robbers inflict injury on travelers. Going thus 2400 or 2500 li we come to the country of Moholacha (Real's Buddhist Records, Vol. II, p. 255). Even so late an author as Hiemān locates Drogus in Vajradra, which he says was on the confines of the Dandakāranya (Burn & Part 2 p. 23). The Allahabad stone-pl. script on of समुद्रगुप्त informs us that the region called महाराष्ट्र formed a part of Dakṣiṇapatha (Corpus Ins. I Vol. III p. 7). The K. sh. copperplate of महाराजमधोम (गुप्तसत् 200, 10 52-53 1 D) speaks of हारिन् in her of मधोम and वर्तुग Dabhala (Bundelkhand) as the 18 forest kingdoms. (Corpus Ins. III p. 114). The बृहत्संहिता mentions a country called महाराष्ट्र in the south 'कर्णामहाराष्ट्रविश्वरूपासिधपरीमिहिली' Chap. 14, 13. In the Vāyakhṛdaya the दण्डकाण्य is located between सिन्धु and शैब्य and is said to have been originally a prosperous kingdom ruled by दण्ड the youngest of the hundred sons of इक्ष्वाकु and reduced to a wilderness for his crimes concerning a rape on the daughter of धर्म (Chap. 8 12-19). The कामधूय describes the plight of K. sh. दाण्डवदभोज, who perished for casting anxious eyes towards a Brahmin girl. The commentator says that his kingdom was the same as दण्डकाण्य.

war like, from very ancient times been named Surashtra<sup>1</sup>. We do not know for certain why it was called a good kingdom. Perhaps it was so called because it was a fertile or flourishing country. Some explain it as the land of Sus. But what people were called Sus, nobody can definitely say. In various epigraphical records we come across regions called Kannarashtra, Goparashtra, Devarashtra and Purvarashtra without being able to determine their exact location<sup>2</sup>. From the details furnished in the note below it will be seen that all these four regions were included in Dakshinapatha used in the wider sense. Hence it is possible to derive Maharashtra as meaning the Great Country<sup>3</sup>.

#### THE EXTENT AND BOUNDARIES OF MAHARASHTRA

It is difficult to assign exact limits to the extent of Maharashtra in ancient times. In modern times the exact boundaries may be approximately obtained by taking the extent of the territories over which the Marathi language is spoken. On the west it extends from

<sup>1</sup> The Baudhajana Smiti mentions सुराष्ट्र as a country with people of mixed origin vide page 66 above. In the Ptolemy's *Śākhāśa* Saurashtra woman is referred to. The रामायण speaks of सीराष्ट्र as the allies of दशरथ 'मार्वातास्त्रिभुवीवीरान् सीराष्ट्रैश्च पाथिबान् ॥' (I 12-27) 'शविष्ठा सिन्धुसीरीरा सीराष्ट्र दक्षिणपथा ।' (II 20-37). In a Nasik inscription of Gotam putra the Prakrit form Surashtra occurs (J. B. R. A. S. vol. V, p. 126). In the Girnar inscription of रुद्रदामन्, सुराष्ट्र is mentioned (A. S. W. I. vol. II, p. 120). In the Junagadh rock-cut inscription of रुद्रदामन् (215 A. D.) we read सर्पु भूत्येव्यपि सहतेषु यो मे शशिष्मात्रिणिष्ठा सुराष्ट्रान् (Cor. Ins. I. vol. III, p. 9). A grant of ध्रुवसेन of बलभी dated बलभीसंवत् 310 (697 A. D.) has सुराष्ट्र बालापकपथके भस्मन्तमान<sup>4</sup> (I. A. vol. VI, p. 15). See Rom. G. vol. I, part I, p. 6. Its earliest foreign mention is perhaps Strabo (B. C. 30 to 20 A. D.) *Saragous* and Ptolemy (A. D. 70) *Oratera*. Ptolemy and the Periplus call it *Surastrene*. The *Shi. Japankha* (Ch. B. I. vol. 36, p. 211) refers to the people of Surashtra.

<sup>2</sup> A कर्मराष्ट्र country is mentioned in an eastern खान्नुव grant (I. A. vol. 20, p. 100). गोपराष्ट्र seems to be Nasik. नागवर्धन, son of जयसिंह brother of the great पुलकेशि II made a grant of Balagrāma in the गोपराष्ट्र district (J. B. R. A. S. vol. II, p. 12; J. B. R. A. S. vol. 18, p. 26 and Rom. G. I. part 2, p. 183). In the भीमराय Chapt. 2, 24, we meet with a country called गोपराष्ट्र दशरथ mentioned as a part of दक्षिणपथ conquered by समुद्रगुप्त (Cor. Ins. I. vol. III, p. 7). A coin is mentioned to identify with महाराष्ट्र or दशगिरि (J. R. A. S. for 1877, p. 274). The Arang copperplate of भीमराजराय records a grant of Pambh in the vicinity of पूर्वराष्ट्र from शरमपुर and the Raypur copper plate contains a grant of श्रीमाहिका in the पूर्वराष्ट्र made in the शरमपुर (C. Ins. I. vol. III, pages 191 and 21).

<sup>3</sup> The Bencell (Introd. at 101) South Indian Palaeography, p. 11, said that Rāṣṭra was a metaphorical perversion of Rāṣṭra which he held to be equivalent to Canarese and Telugu Rādḍa or Rādḍa.



Varan to Goa, on the north it extends partly to the river Narmada and in some places to the Tapi, which separates it from Gujarathi. From the neighbourhood of Gavalgad it turns eastward in the direction of Betul and Seoni. From Nagpur it turns towards the south to Chanda and then to the west along the Punganga river. Then it runs south to the Godavari, from which in an irregular line it runs southward to Sholapore and Bijapur, from which it gets to the Krishna which separates it from Canarese, then it runs south west and west to Goa.<sup>1</sup> The evidence of language for determining the boundaries of a country is, of course, a very uncertain one. For political and other reasons, languages often come to be spoken by people who originally belonged to a different country altogether and employed a different tongue. In spite of this drawback the boundaries within which a language is current furnish tolerably correct limits for the extent of a country. I hope to be able to show that the boundaries of Maharashtra from ancient times corresponded pretty closely with the boundaries of the Marathi language in modern times.

From the list of countries contained in the Mahavamsa to which Buddhist Missionaries were sent by Megasthenes Tassa we can form some estimate, though necessarily vague of the extent of Maharashtra. The countries are Kashmir, Gandhara, Malavanantida, Vaneva, Aparantika, Maharashtra, Yona, Himadira country and Suvarnabhumi.<sup>2</sup> Out of these the four countries beginning with Mahasamudra clearly belong to the Deccan. Mahasamudra is the country about Mahishmati on the Narmada.<sup>3</sup> Vanastra is the ancient kingdom of Binabisi (modern North Canara) and Aparantika is the strip of land between the Sahyadri and the sea called the Konkan. So we shall not be wrong if we assume that Maharashtra was the country between the Narmada on the north, Konkan on the west and the kingdom of Lantavasi on the South. This corresponds very well with the limits of Maharashtra as derived from the boundaries of the Marathi language (except that here Konkan is excluded). The Alphonso inscription of 634 A. D. says that there were three Maharashtra which together comprised 99,000 villages.<sup>4</sup> What these three subdivisions were Mah

<sup>1</sup> See I. A. V. III p. 221 f. *Chon* s. of Maath and the *Chon* s. of Maath part 2. In no other dynasty of the Candavada D. could it be found. *Chon* s. of Maath part 2. In no other India V. III p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See *Chon* s. of Maath, Chap. XII pp. 1-5.

<sup>3</sup> See D. Fleet (J. R. A. S. 1891 p. 100 f. and J. R. A. S. 1892 p. 145 f. R. A. S. 1893 p. 145 f. *Chon* s. of Maath part 2. In no other dynasty of the Candavada D. could it be found. *Chon* s. of Maath part 2. In no other India V. III p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> See page 148 above.

raishtra were we shall see later on. From several grants the villages mentioned in which can be satisfactorily identified we shall see that in ancient times the villages were at least as large as in modern times.<sup>1</sup> The probabilities are that the sites of villages were, if anything larger in ancient times than at present. Population was not so dense as it is now. The same village was often split up into two in later times. Therefore we shall not misculculate if we take the 99,000 villages comprised in Maharashtra in the 7th Century as having been as large as the villages at present. Dr Fleet says that there are less than 44,000 villages and hamlets in the whole of the Bombay Presidency, excluding Sindh and the Native States.<sup>2</sup> To allow room for 99,000 villages Maharashtra must have been at least double of this and must have extended up to the Narmada on the North, the Krishna on the South, and far into the Central Provinces and the Nizam's Dominions. From Hiouen Tsang's accounts we see that Maharashtra was about 2400 or 2500 li (i.e., about 400 miles according to Cunningham)<sup>3</sup> to the north west of Hongkinnapulo (हङ्किनापुल) and that its extent was about 5000 li (i.e., about 800 miles).<sup>4</sup> He further says that the capital borders in the west on a great river and that going from Maharashtra 1000 li to the west and crossing the Naimoto (Narmada) we arrive at the kingdom of Polukichopo<sup>5</sup> (Bharukichchappa i.e., modern Broach). We are further told that on the eastern frontier of Maharashtra there was a rock cut Buddhist Vihara, which seems to have been the Ajanta caves. All these details point to the present Maharashtra excluding Barar and Central Provinces as Ajanta is mentioned on the eastern frontier.<sup>6</sup> Almost the same details are given in Hiouen Tsang's life,<sup>7</sup> except that Broach is said to be to the north west instead of in the west as in the travels. In the Balar malyana of Rajasekhara we find that while Rama and Sita are on their journey from Ceylon to Ayodhya in the Pushpakavimana Sugriva draws Rama's attention to Maharashtra and Rama in his turn at the same moment pours into the ears of Shatanulogy of Vidarbha and then refers to Kuntala as the seat of the

1. See I.A. 17 p. 187 B (Magnuma grant of Dindia II dated Sakre 411 A. 491-40 A. D.) I.A. Vol. 17 p. 187 (The Balabhadra grant of Mahama III dated 275 B. 455 A. D. in this case).

2. Bom. C. Vol. I Part 2, p. 261 n. 2.

3. A.G. I. Appendix B. p. 371.

4. Real's Buddhist Records, Vol. II p. 231.

5. Real's B.R. Vol. II p. 231.

6. Dr Fleet says that the country called Maharashtra by Hiouen-Tsang would have been more properly called Kuntala for Mahabharata, Bom. C. vol. I part 1 p. 145 n. 5.

7. See Real's Life of Hiouen Tsang, pp. 106-107.

distances of Cup d<sup>2</sup>. Sita then breaks in by referring to Vidarbha as the home of Indumati the mother of her father in law Dasarathi, while Tripti puts to Sita a conundrum about Narmada. Raja Sekhara was himself a poet of Maharashtra as he informs us that he was the fourth in descent from Akalajada who is styled 'Maharashtra Chudamani' in the first act of the Balamanyasi. Maharashtra, Vidarbha and Kuntala are here referred to as if in one breath and as being below the Narmada. Alberuni (about 1000 A. D.) says marching from Dhar southwards you come to the valley of Narmada 7 farsakhs from Dhar Maharashtra is 18 farsakhs the province of Konkan and its capital Tana on the sea coast 25 farsakhs<sup>21</sup>. From this we see that even in Alberuni's day the Konkan was not included in Maharashtra which extended southwards from the Narmada. The commentator of the Harasutra says that the country of Maharashtra lies between the Narmada and the Karnatic.

The foregoing discussion gives us a pretty clear idea as to the extent of Maharashtra. The Konkan was generally not included therein. In the present essay also, I shall not, as a rule go into the details of the geography of the Konkan. But from the most ancient times the ports of Konkan such as Sopara and Chaul were the scenes of the greatest maritime activity which brought the Konkan in intimate touch with foreign nations of the West. The ports thence the Chauls were in close connection with the ports, towns and cities of Konkan as is evidenced by the inscriptions in the Nanughat and other places in the Konkan. The Konkan was also politically in close connection with the country above the Ghats. Northern Konkan was a portion of the kingdom of the Satrapas of Vidarbha and also of the Satavahanas. The Chaulukya Emperors Kirtivarma and Tulakesa II are said to have

<sup>1</sup> Benares Pandit Vol. III for 1880, p. 203 ff. (Ch. Act) सुभाष भर्तापत्र अयमम  
गदाराविषय राम — यत्क्षेम विदिवाय वत्स निगमस्याय च वत्ससम स्वादिष्ठ च  
यदैक्षवादाय रसाद्यक्षय यदाद्रुयम् । सदास्मिन् मधुर प्रसादिरसवत् कान्त च कान्यामृत  
सोऽय गुम्भ पुरो विदमविषय सारसतीजम्भू ॥ ७४ किंच । रतविद्याविद्यमाना  
विभ्रमोलसायम्भट । नित्य वुत्तलकान्तानां किंसो मकरध्वज ॥ ७५ साता—  
जहि उष्णणा म विदामहगुहुरस्य परिणो इन्दुमदी त्रिजटा—कीटकोलकलस्य  
किञ्च भवति साता मुराधम । का च गुता शशिर्दिलकाम विन्ध्यमहीधरधाम ॥  
साता—नर्मदा

vanquished the Maurya Chast of the Konkan.<sup>1</sup> The Satavahana Chastans of Thana acknowledged themselves to be the vassals of the Rishtrikut of Malkhed. Though the history of the Konkan is thus closely interwoven with that of Maharashtra, yet as from the most ancient times the Konkan was looked upon as a unit by itself and is distinguished from Maharashtra by physical and topographical peculiarities, I have deemed it necessary to exclude the Konkan from treatment in this essay as far as possible.<sup>2</sup>

The Rishtrakutas of Malkhed wielded the sovereignty of Maharashtra from about 750 A.D. to 1173 A.D. The *Samantas* and *Prasas* of the later Chalukyas of Kalyani are often referred to (especially

<sup>1</sup> A'hole inscription no. 1 A. VIII p. 292

कोकणेषु यदादृष्टचण्डदण्डाम्युनायमि ।

उदम्सालरगा मोयपवलाभ्युममृदय ॥

<sup>2</sup> In the Puranas महाभारत and other Chast of अपरांत and from the country between the नर्मदा and the तापी. In the रत्नकोश, महाभारत, वैदर्भ, कौङ्ग, नर्मदाप्रदेश and तापीतटदेश are mentioned. See Donner's Vol. I part 2 p. 141 for the information. That अपरांत usually means the Konkan according to the old text. The अर्थशास्त्र of कौटिल्य says that the quantity of rain that falls in अपरांत is immeasurable as compared with the rainfall in Avanti and Vajirika and places the अपरांत and the Haimala region on a level as regards rainfall. In Harshana's inscription no. 24 (L. S. V. I. 34 V. p. 84) is recorded सिध कलिभगिनाय भौडगिया अपरांतिकाय दामिलाय लेग गोडि च कण्डासे. Here we see that the husband of दामिला was भौडक the ruler of अपरांत and that she had come from कल्याण near modern Bombay. It has a 5th letter even as the Aparanta (आपरांत), but whether he means the Konkan is not clear. The Malayantha map no. 4 p. 212 (B. I. Vol. 2 p. 212) महाभारत आदिपर्व Chapters 81-83 describes अजय as going to 1. गोकर्ण 2. अपरांत 3. प्रयाग, thence to 4. वैष्णव and then to 5. हारका. In the inscription of रत्नदामन, अपरांत occurs as the name of a single country distinct from सुराष्ट्र and the other countries enumerated in (L. S. V. Vol. II p. 206). We saw above that the महाभारत mentions अपरांतक कलिदास says that after conquering केरल (Malabar) received the submission of the अपरांत king and then proceeded for the conquest of the पारसीक by the land route. See रघुवंश I. 13. 50-52. From the description it is clear that according to कलिदास अपरांत was between the western ocean and the Sahyadri mountains (see Verma's). The कामसूत्र of वात्स्यायन regards a 6th province of पारसीक as a woman. By अपरांत it must understand the Konkan. Then Chast of Kalyani was a district of the 12th century. In the opinion of Dr. Fleet there is no doubt the Indian middle of the 12th century, the महाभारत is 12th century and the map of 12th century.

in the grants of their opponents) as Rājipāl or Rātipāl ११ lakh country.<sup>1</sup> There is a sharp conflict of views as to the meaning of this latter expression.<sup>2</sup> The Imperial Gazetteer (Vol. V, page 291, note) says that these numbers (occurring in such expressions as Rājipāl ११ lakh, Guingā ११५६,०००, Nalumbā ३१,०००, Bānārasī १२,०००, Torigāl ६,०००, Kunā ३,०००, Konkā १००, etc.) refer to their revenue capacity or to the number of their lands (or districts). Mr. Rice thinks that the numbers denote revenue value and apparently indicated *muḥāṭas*. Mr. Aiyangar (*Ancient India*, p. 74, foot-note) thinks that the numbers either indicate the revenue or income or sometimes the quantity of seed required. But Mr. Aiyangar does not tell us the purpose for which the seed was required. Dr. Fleet is of opinion that the numbers refer to villages, in some cases grossly exaggerated. Mr. Vrinmitchell (see J. R. A. S., 1912, p. 708) brings to notice a new inscription of 901 A. D. from Bandilike which speaks of the Mahasamantā Lohiteyāśāśa governing 31,101 villages comprising the Bānārasī 12,000 the Pāṭāśī 12,000 and Māyākhedī 6,000 etc. The view of Dr. Fleet seems to me to be the right one. In a grant of the Śāliśa prince Aparijita of Thāra, Konkā is expressly said to contain 1,400 villages.<sup>3</sup> We cannot say that taxes were usually collected in money, it was rather the reverse. Besides the numbers attached to various districts remain unchanged for centuries together. It cannot be said that the revenue never fluctuated for centuries, but it is very probable that the number of villages did not vary from century to century. Moreover, there is nothing to show what the standard of value was with reference to which these numbers were given and that that standard was uniform from Dīhāla (Bandell Land) to southern India.<sup>4</sup> Hence it is better to assume that the numbers refer to villages and hamlets. In that case Rājipāl the dominion of the Rājīśāhī is, would be very extensive indeed and would stand for a country very much larger than in Mahārāṣṭra.

<sup>1</sup> See Horn C. Vol. I p. 34. See also in the *Śaṭvāṣṭya* grant of 1128 A. D., the second king of the latter *चालुक्य* is described as ruling over *रदपाणी* ११ लक्ष records of his enemy opponent *सम्राजदेव* describe the latter as the conqueror of the ११ lakh country. See also in the *दक्षिणप्रस्थ* *Aspurno* १ *बाण* inscription of Śaṭvāṣṭya, western letter at once collocates a Ruler of a ११ lakh country contains १२,००० villages in the *शालिषट्ट*.  
J. A. S. p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> See J. R. A. S. 1912, p. 702 (Dr. Fleet).

<sup>3</sup> J. A. S. Vol. III, pp. 207-278. *चतुर्दशमामशतोपलभितकौक्यान्* - पालि

<sup>4</sup> An inscription of Harshavardhana of the time of the Kalachūrya Bhoja of Kāṭyā speaks of the former *कुण्ड* *an* *ag* *oh* *m* dominion of the ११ lakh Dāṭa country or *Chet* *n* *Chet* *ind*. R. A. S. Vol. I p. 463.

## MOUNTAINS OF MAHARASHTRA

The Purāṇas contain long lists of the mountains and hills of India. The traditional number of the principal mountain ranges is seven.<sup>1</sup> Out of these we are concerned with the Vindhya and the Sahya. The Vindhya runs along the Narmadā and thus is on the northern border of Maharashtra, while the Sahya furnishes the western boundary of Maharashtra almost throughout. The Anuṣṭi mentions these two mountains along with others.<sup>2</sup> The Vāyupurāṇa gives a list of subsidiary mountains,<sup>3</sup> one of which Kṛṣṇaṅkari, the modern Kāsheri hill, may be mentioned here although it falls outside the limits of Maharashtra as defined above. The Brāhmapurāṇa<sup>4</sup> (Chap. 27) gives a long list of mountains, none of which can be definitely located in Maharashtra. The Bhāgavata-purāṇa also gives a very long list in prose (V, 19-26). It mentions a Dāṇḍakī after Sahya. It is not clear by what name the Satpura range between the Narmadā and the Tapi is referred to in the Purāṇas. It may be the Rikshī Paryāta, one of the seven principal ranges or it may have been included under the Vindhya. Mr. Lundolp Dix identifies the Vaidurya mountain with the modern Satpura range.<sup>5</sup> The Rikṣa

<sup>1</sup> Vāyupurāṇa, Chap. 43, Verse 28.

<sup>2</sup> S. B. L. Vol. VIII p. 306 (अनुगीता Chap. 28) डिमवह, पारियाव सद्य विन्ध्य विह्वल, श्वेत, नील (modern Vindhya) भास, कोटवन्, मोड गुरवन्, मलयवन् are mentioned as the principal among mountains. Is विह्वल the same as that mentioned by कालिदास in रघुवंश 4. 59, or is it the same as the विरोधिन (Trahnu in the Nasik Cave inscriptions) mountain near Nashik?

<sup>3</sup> Vāyupurāṇa Chap. 43, 1-17 Verses.

<sup>4</sup> कोलाहल सर्वभ्राजां मन्दरो ददर्शचल ।  
वातन्धयो वैशुतथ मैनाक गुरसस्तथा ॥  
तुन्नप्रस्थो नागगिरिर्गोधन पाण्डराचल ॥  
पुष्पगिरिर्वैजयन्तो रैवतोऽर्जुन एव च ।  
ऋष्यमूक, तपोमन्य (न्त ५ L) कृतशैल कृताचल ।  
आपर्वतश्चकोरश्च शतशोऽन्ये च पर्वताः ॥ 21-24

<sup>5</sup> See his geographical dictionary of ancient and modern India, p. 7. Pāṇini mentions Vaidūra विदूराऽन्य (IV 3. 84) from which came the valuable stone वैदूर्य पतञ्जलि's comment on this runs 'अयुक्तोय निदेशो न ह्यसौ विदूरान्यभवति किं तर्हि बालवायान्यभवति विदूरे सन्निवृत्ते' 1c Vol. II p. 13. A mountain called वैदूर्यशिला is described as being on the नर्मदा in the 1st of Western तार्थक the वनपर्व (Chap. 80. 6).

yana in several places speaks of Sahya as a very extensive range.<sup>1</sup> Coming to epigraphical records we have a list of mountains in one of the Nasik inscriptions of Gotamiputra. The mountains mentioned are Himavat, Meru, Mandara, Vajira, Chhavata, Parichita (Pariyatra modern Aravalli range including Mount Abu), Sahya, Kanbhagiri, Mancha, Sirigana, Malavi, Mahida (Mahendra), Setagiri and Chak<sup>2</sup>. In several Nasik inscriptions, the hill on which the Pandulena caves are excavated is called Tirinhu Pivata 'Trisrnu Parvata' in Sanskrit.<sup>3</sup> In several inscriptions of Western India various donors are styled as coming from Sāḍagiri or Sādḍagiri. It may stand for the Salsette Hills.<sup>4</sup> The hill on which the Kanheri Caves were excavated was called Kanbhagiri or Kanhasela in the prakrit and कृष्णागिरी in Sanskrit.<sup>5</sup> In the cave temples of Western India there are inscriptions mentioning several isolated hills e.g., the hill near the Beda caves seems to have been called Marakuta (Marakūṭa in Sanskrit) and the hill Minamo is near Junnar appears to have been designa

<sup>1</sup> पुद्गकांड 4.37 'अपश्यत् गिरिप्रेते सद्य गिरिशतायुतम्'. See also verses 72-76

<sup>2</sup> See J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. V p. 42 and also Bom. C. Vol. 16 p. 330 विष्णुवन् stands for विष्णुवन्—the विन् and कश्चवन् mountains. The कश्चवन् seems to be a portion of the विष्णु near नर्मदा or the Satpura range कालिदास mentions कश्चवन् as a mountain near नर्मदा (ए. V. 44). The ब्रह्मपुराण (see below) makes the rivers नारी, पद्मोष्णी निर्बिन्द्या flow in the कश्च. That पारियात्र was in Malā seems clear from the बृहत्संहिता 'मालवामभककामुराष्ट्रान् ह्यस्मिन्पुविदयममूनीथ । विकसाशितधनोऽवति राजा पारियात्र नित्य कृतबुद्धिः ॥ सप्ततिरथै मानयोऽय एवति सम्पदयागासीथै । Chap. 69. 1. 2. Buhler prefers the form पारियात्र. It is suggested in J. B. B. R. A. S. V. p. 3141 मय and मिरिटन (?) क्षात्रन) may be Nāga. According to Bom. C. Vol. 6 p. 630 मिरिटन is श्रीशैल in Telugu. What कश्चगिरी is not clear. Dr. Bhag. Lal takes to be पद्मगिरी. Is श्रीशैलगिरी or पद्मगिरी? चकार is also mentioned as a mountain in the passage of the ब्रह्मपुराण quoted above.

<sup>3</sup> See Bombay Gazet. etc. Vol. 6 inscriptions Nos. 3, 5, 18, &c.

<sup>4</sup> See the gene. and Phagnanial inscriptions from cave temples of Western India p. 4 (Kuda Ins. No. 1) 'महाभोजय मडगिरिय विजयाय एतस महाभोजन मदवत &c. the same words in inscription 9 (at p. 9 b.d.) but in No. 19 we read महाभोजय राडकरस सुदमयस दुहनुव' &c. See also J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. V pp. 1001. Modern Salsette was called पद्मगिरी, I. e. the inscription of the Konkan चक्रवर्ति अपरादिदेव of Saka 1109 (37 B.C. A.D.) where the village Mahaval (modern Mahul) was said to be included in पद्मगिरी (J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. VII p. 333).

<sup>5</sup> See A. S. W. I. Vol. V p. 70 (Kanheri Ins. No. 25 of the time of गोतमिपुत्र सिरियत्र मल्लकण्ठि, I. A. V. I. p. 333 (Ins. of Saka 765 i. e. 81-94 A.D.) of पुद्गलवि the महासामंत of Konkan (कृष्णागिरी).

to the *Maumukha*.<sup>1</sup> The *Budhist Jataka* and other works in Pali contain some passing notices of hills in the Deccan. In the story of the two merchants of Suva, peruvira we read of a hill called *Madugiri* on the western coast of *Sappara* (modern Sopara) on which *Punnar* dwelt for some time, whence he removed to *Madugiri* which was not far from *Madugiri*.<sup>2</sup> The only other hill mentioned is *Sichabaddhi* on the northern watershed of the *Narmada* when going from *Sopara* to *Sowal* (Seisval). Ptolemy mentions seven mountains in *India prima* & *India*.<sup>3</sup> They are, (1) *Apokop*, called *Parnai* *Pison* and to be the *Aravalli* hills, (2) *Mount Sardonx* (the present *Sitpudi*), (3) *Mount Oandion* (*Vindhyā*), (4) *Beug*, a peak of *Malyā*, (5) *Alisathron* to the west of which Ptolemy locates both *Bithuria* (*Paithan*) and *Egypti*, (6) *Ouxention* the eastern continuation of the *Vindhyā*, which *McCrindle* identifies with *Rajshwari*, (7) *Oandion* mountains (which *Yule* identifies with *Vudōrya*) the northern section of the *Western Ghats*. *Khidisi* when describing the conquering expeditions of *Pāghu* refers to a hill *Trakōra* in *Apr* *er* *ni* (*Rughu* 439). It is not possible to identify this hill. Dr. *Bligh* would thought that *Trakōra* refers to certain hills near *Junnar* (*B. C.*, *V. I. I.* p. 1 p. 257). To take *Trakōra* to be the name of a river is done in *B. C.* Vol. I p. 2, page 13, note 5) in this passage does not seem to be correct.

As to mountain passes very little information is available. But there can be no doubt that some of the present passes in the *Western Ghats* must have been used in our from ancient times. As we are told in the accounts of Greek writers that *Barigaza* (*Brouth*) *Soupari* *K. Phera* (*Kalyan*) and *Senysli* (*Chaul*) on the *Western Coast* were emporia of trade to which merchandise from the whole of *India* was brought for being carried to the marts of the *West* and as we have stories of merchants proceeding from *Sopara* on the *Konkan Coast* to *Srayasti* the passes that connect these coast towns with the cities in the *Ghats* must have been much used routes even before the *Christian era*. Merchandise must have flowed to *Sopara* through the *Thal* pass and must have connected it with *Nasik* and the *Malsej* and *Nims* pass would have brought it in close communication with *Junnar* and *Paithan*. Inscriptions and cave remains at *Kandari*, *Jambhug* and *Amshin* in the *Thana District* and at *Karch*, *Bhuy* and *Bedsa* in the *Thana District* establish that the *Bar* pass was much

<sup>1</sup> See *Bhagavata* and *Hariv.* 2. *Indra* *ca* *pr* *ap* *les* of *Western India* p. 26 (I. *Indra* *ca* *pr* *ap* *les* of *Western India* p. 26).

<sup>2</sup> See *Hardy's* *Map of India* (2nd Ed.) p. 20. 2. *Thouless* *Arts* *to* *the* *Ind.* *Vol.* *6* p. 44.

<sup>3</sup> See *McCrindle* *Ind. Pr.* *on* *p.* *pp.* 25, 3.



resorted to for purposes of trade between 100 and 600 A.D. This holds good of the Kumbharli pass connecting Chiplun and Dabhol with the ancient district of Karmastaka (modern Karad)

### THE RIVERS OF MAHARASHTRA

In the Mahabharata we have perhaps the most copious list of the rivers of India.<sup>1</sup> But it is of doubtful authenticity. The Vishnu and Matsya Puranas agree remarkably in the list of rivers enumerated by them.<sup>2</sup> The Brahma Purana had a similar but slightly different list before it. The Padma Purana (Chap. 6) enumerates the rivers of India in a confused way without specifying the mountains from which they rise. And so does the Bhagavata Purana in prose (V. 19-18). In an inscription of Ushavadata son-in-law of the Kshatriya Mahipati, (Nasik No. 10 and I. V. 12 p. 27 and J. B. B. R. V. 5, Vol. V. p. 49) we come across the rivers Barnasa, Bh. Parid, Damana, Tapi, Karibena and Dahamuk, out of which the Tapi alone falls within the limits of Maharashtra as defined above. In the Gharatna mahodadhi of Vardhamana we meet with more than a dozen rivers ending in the suffix *vati* but unfortunately none of them can be unmistakably identified.<sup>3</sup>

We shall now take up the larger rivers of Maharashtra from the Narmada southwards and then enumerate some of the lesser ones. The epigraphic records mention many small and insignificant streams which I shall pass over.

**Narmada**—The earliest reference seems to be in the Satapatha Brihmana<sup>4</sup> where we read of a priest called Revottara Parva Chakra Sthipati. Rev is another name for Narmada.<sup>5</sup> We know

<sup>1</sup> भीमपर्व Chap. 9 14-6. The समापर्व has a similar list (Chap. 9, 18-23).

<sup>2</sup> वायुपुराण Chap. 45 vv. 202-06. तापी पयोष्णी निर्बया महा च निषया नदी । वेवा (V. L. वेवा) वैतरणी चैव शिनिवाह कुमुदती ॥ तोवा चैव महागौरा दुर्गा चातशिला तथा । विन्ध्यादपसूताश्च नद्यः पुण्यजला गुहा ॥ गोदावरी भीमरथी कृष्णा वैष्णवः पञ्जुला । तद्भद्रा मययोगा कावेरी च तथापरा ॥ दक्षिणपथनयनस्तु सप्तपदाश्चैव स्मृता ॥ See मत्स्यपुराण Chap. 116 vv. 27-29.

दक्षपुराण Chap. 20 vv. 11-13. नर्मदा सुगमायाश्च नयो विध्यश्चैव स्मृता । तापी पयोष्णी निर्बिया कावेरीप्रसूता नदी । कञ्जपादोद्भवा खेता अता ताप इरातेया । गोदावरी भीमरथा कृष्णवैष्णवादिकारुता । सप्तपदाश्चैव नद्यः &c. See also Chap. 27.

<sup>3</sup> See मण्डनमहोदधि (Lagrelling) p. 179.

<sup>4</sup> B. R. Vol. 45 p. 2-6 109-8-8.

<sup>5</sup> But it is strange that the भागवतपुराण V. 9-18 mentions the Rev and Narmada separately.

from Buddhist stories that Nāga kings on the Narmada requested Buddha to leave his footprint, which is said to be still visible in the Yon country, and that from the river Buddha went to the rock Srichandika.<sup>1</sup> In the Vinayapitaka the Narmada is mentioned (Chap 85-9). Ptolemy refers to the sources of the Narmada in the Quidion range.<sup>2</sup> In the Brahma Purana the Narmada is said to spring from Vindhya while the Matsya Purana makes it rise from the Patala. The latter Purana contains a Mahatmya of the river (Chap. 160 ff). In the Meghaduta Kalidasa says that the River comes into view from the Āmra Kāta hill and that it is to be seen straggling down the slopes of the Vindhya.<sup>3</sup> In the Saptasat of Hla the author speaks of the River as possessing qualities that transcend those of other rivers.<sup>4</sup> The Brihatsambhuta mentions the Narmada as under the influence of Mars.<sup>5</sup> The Amarakosha mentions several synonyms of Reva or Narmada. Hiuen Tsiang tells us that after crossing the Naimoto (Narmada) we arrive at the kingdom of Polukiechepo (Bharukachakra or Broach).<sup>6</sup>

**Tipi**—In the Mahabharata the river Tapi seems to have been called Payoshini. In the list of Tirthas in the South the highest praise is bestowed on the Payoshini and it is spoken of as the river of King Dya.<sup>7</sup> But the Puranas clearly distinguish between the three rivers Tapi, Payoshini and Nirvindhya. These three are said to spring from mountain Kiksha according to the Bṛhat Purana while the Matsya and Viṣṇu make them rise in the Vindhya. Ptolemy mentions the sources of a river Narmadum as being in the Quidion range.<sup>8</sup> McCrindle (p. 128) identifies the Tapi with the Varagouna. The Tapi is included in the list of rivers enumerated in the

<sup>1</sup> See Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism* (2nd Ed) p. 202. I. A. Vol. 16 pp. 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> McCrindle's Ptolemy p. 202.

<sup>3</sup> मेघदूत Verse 10 'येन दृश्यस्युपलविभे विस्फादे विभीर्णम् ॥

<sup>4</sup> आम बहला बाला मुहला जलरङ्गुणो जल सितरम् । अण्णमर्यण वि रेवाद तह वि अण्णे गुणा केवि ॥ माधामपशानी ५१ ॥

<sup>5</sup> Kern's *Bṛhat-sambhuta* Chap. 69.

<sup>6</sup> Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II p. 257.

<sup>7</sup> वनपर्व ३३ 'राजप्रेतस्य च सनिन्तस्य मन्तपद । रम्यतार्थो बहुजला पयो र्वा दिजसेविता ॥ ४ ॥ अपि चात्र महायोगी मार्कण्डेयो महायज्ञः । अनुवक्ष्या जगौ गाथा नृगस्य प्रणीते ॥ ५ ॥ एतत् मरितं सत्त्वं गङ्गाया मलितोत्तकम् । पयोष्णी चैतत् पुण्या तीर्थेभ्यो हि मत्तं मम ॥ ७ ॥

<sup>8</sup> McCrindle's Ptolemy p. 63.

description of Ushavadata (see above p. 637). The Gathasaptasatī peaks of the hilly banks of the Tapi (III, 39). The Bṛhatsamhita peaks of the sweet waters of the Tapi.<sup>2</sup> The Pavoshni is a feeder of the Tapi which after running underground for some distance falls into the Tapi at the town of Prakāsa, 23 miles north west of Dhulia in the Akandesh district.<sup>3</sup> Nundorl Dī identifies the Nirvindhya with the Nāgranga. But this does not seem to be correct. In the Meghadūta the poet tells us that the river Nirvindhya was to be met with on the road from Vidisa (Bhilsa) to Ujjayini.<sup>4</sup>

**Godavari**—This river surpasses in sanctity the Krishna and may be styled the most sacred river of Maharashtra. We have quoted several passages about the sacred land of the seven Godavaris. The river Godavari is mentioned in the Suttapitaka as running through the country of Assaka (Amraoti).<sup>5</sup> In the list of sacred places in the South we find that the Godavari is mentioned first as a holy river (Vāṇiparva Chap. 89.2). In the Rāmāyaṇa we have frequent poetic descriptions of the scenery on the banks of the Godavari. The Brahmapurāṇa devotes about a hundred Chapters (70-173) to the Godavari and the sacred places on it. In one place we are told that the banks of the Godavari are the most charming country in the world.<sup>6</sup> The Vātsyāpurāṇa also says the same. The Saptasatī of Hala refers to the river Gola at least a dozen times and is very enthusiastic in its praise. The Bṛhatsamhita<sup>7</sup> says that the Godavari

<sup>1</sup> वै च विवन्ति सुतोया तापी धे चापि गमतामल्लिम् । इहस्तद्धिता ६.२

<sup>2</sup> Bom. G. Vol. VII p. 406 note. But in the महाभारत seems that the पयोष्णी is तापी itself as the adject. समुद्रगा in the passage quoted above clearly indicates.

<sup>3</sup> मेघदूत Verse 52. 'निर्विन्ध्याया पाथ भव रसाभ्यान्तर मनिपत्य'

<sup>4</sup> Fauholt's edition Verse 677 and S. B. F. Vol. V part 2 p. 81.

<sup>5</sup> See अरण्यकाण्ड Chapters 25-6 etc.

<sup>6</sup> महापुराण Chap. 27 verses 41-42. 'महास्य चोत्तरे यगु यत्र गोदावरी नदी । पृथिव्यामपि कृत्वाया स प्रदशा मनोरम ॥ गवधनपुर रम्य भार्गवस्य महामन ।'

See the same verses in माण्डूक्य 57.38-45 and वायु 45. 28-3 (slight variations).

<sup>7</sup> मग्यपुराण 14. 3-39. 'महास्वान्तरे चैत तत्र गादावरी नदा । पृथिव्यामपि कृत्वाया स प्रदेशो मनोरम ॥ यत्र गवधनो नाम मदरो गवधमादन । रामप्रियार्थ स्वर्गिया कृत्वा दिव्यास्तथोपय ॥ भरद्वाजेन मुनिना प्रियार्थमवधारिता । ततो पुण्यवरो देवाग्नेन चतुर्धनागम ॥



The Vyapurana and Bhagavata mention the rivers Krishna and Vena separately while the Brahma and the Matsya combine them into one as Krishnavena.<sup>1</sup> The Vena and Krishna are mentioned in the Vishnupurāṇa.<sup>2</sup> A grant of the Śālikara chieftain Marasimha of c. 950 (1038-59 A.D.) speaks of the Krishnavena in the Mirinjala delta (modern Miraj).<sup>3</sup> The village of Kādāladūmayā (Kurundwad in the S.M. country) on the confluence of the Krishnaveni and Bhenasi was granted by the Yadava Emperor Singhana in Śaka 1136 (1214-15 A.D.).<sup>4</sup> The Vikramanikadevacharita calls it Krishnaveni or Krishnaveni.<sup>5</sup>

Among the lesser rivers the Vena deserves the first place. Pargiter takes the Krishnaveni mentioned in the Vanaparva (Chap. 83, 37) to be a tributary of the Vena (which he identifies with the Wainganga) north of Nagpur.<sup>6</sup> The Bṛhatsamhitā several times mentions the Vena or its banks and it gives us the interesting information that Vajra diamonds were found on the banks of the Vena.<sup>7</sup> The Brahma-purāṇa speaks (in Chap. 773) of the confluence of the Krishna, Bhimarathi and Tungabhadra as a very holy place conferring *mukta* on mortals.<sup>8</sup> The river Bhimarathi appears to be the Bhima that falls into the Krishna.<sup>9</sup> The Bṛhatsamhitā calls it Bhimarathi.<sup>1</sup> A village called Alandārtirtha on the southern bank of the Bhimarathi was granted by the grandson of Satyasraya (Pulakesin II) see J. B. R. A. S., Vol. II, pages 111 and 112 and I. A. Vol. 19 pp. 303-304. The Kaśikavṛttī (on Pāṇini IV. 2. 83) mentions a river

<sup>1</sup> ब्रह्म Chap. 773 and मत्स्य 114. 21. At ब्रह्म 47. 15 we have वृष्णवेणी. The भगवत (1. 10) reads वृष्णीवेण्या.

<sup>2</sup> Wilson's V. P. p. 184. The waters of the वृष्णी are described to be always salubrious in the विष्णुपुराण.

<sup>3</sup> Burgess and Duggan's Chalukya Temples, p. 404.

<sup>4</sup> See J. B. R. A. S., Vol. 11, p.

<sup>5</sup> See IV. 2. 83 and 84.

<sup>6</sup> J. B. R. A. S., Vol. 11, pp. 23, 24.

<sup>7</sup> बृहत्संहिता Chap. 4. 26, 6, 9. So 7. 'वेण्यां विद्रुह शिरापकुमुभोपम च कीमलकम्' ॥

<sup>8</sup> वृष्णा भीमरथी चैव तुङ्गभद्रा तु नाद । निमृणा सदमो यत्र तर्त्ताथ मुक्तिर वृणाम् ॥

<sup>9</sup> See ब्रह्मपुराण Chap. 773 and 77. 35. वरुण 45. 104. मत्स्य 1. 4. 20.

<sup>10</sup> Chap. 10. 1.

**Bhimarathi** The river Bhimarathi and Paunharikapura (Pandharpur) on it are mentioned in a grant of Krishnaya which dated Śake 1170 (1249-50 A. D. in this case).<sup>1</sup> A grant of the Rashtrakuta Govinda III, dated Śake 730 (808-09 A. D.) speaks of the village granted, viz., Kuttajuni having as its eastern boundary the river Simhā.<sup>2</sup> This is the river Sima a tributary of the Bhima. The river Malaprabha (modern Mahaprabha) that falls into the Krishna is mentioned in a Chalukya inscription of Śake 1145 (1223-24 A. D.).<sup>3</sup>

The river Varada (modern Wardha in Berar) is said in the *Mahabharata* to have been fixed as the boundary between the kingdoms of Vajrasena and Madhvasena by Agnimitra, the second Sunga sovereign. The *Nalachampa* speaks of a country called Varadatala. The river Vainringa in the Central Provinces appears to have been referred to as Benna or Vena. In the Seoni copperplate of the Valabhi Pravarisena II, we have a grant of the village of Brahmaparsaka in Benna Karpatabhaga. This district appears to have derived its name from the river Benna which from the situation of the village granted and the place where the plate was found seems to be the Vainringa. In the list of Tirthas in the *Varanavasi* the pilgrims' course is made to run along the Godavari to its junction with the Vena and then northwards to the junction of the Varada with the Venā.<sup>4</sup>

## POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS

In the Aihole inscription of 634 A. D. we are told that there were three Maharashtra.<sup>5</sup> What these three main divisions of Maharashtra were the inscription does not tell us. But it seems that Vidarbha, Maharashtra proper (i.e. the country from Khindesh to Satara) and Kuntala were the three countries intended to be designated as the three Maharashtra. This surmise derives support from the fact that the limits of Maharashtra as discussed above extended from the Narayana to the Krishna. The fact that the *Baharimajana* of Rajasekhari groups the countries together lends further support to this surmise.<sup>6</sup> I have referred above to the notices of Vidarbha in the ancient Vedic literature. Vidarbha was a very powerful and prominent kingdom from ancient

<sup>1</sup> I. A. Vol. 14 p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> See I. A. Vol. VI p. 68.

<sup>3</sup> J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. 12 p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> See वनपर्व 85. 31-35.

<sup>5</sup> See I. A. Vol. VIII page 241.

<sup>6</sup> See above p. 610.

tures<sup>1</sup> The poets of Vidarbha surpassed those of any other part of India, and their style came to be called Vaidarbhi even so early as the 6th Century A.D.<sup>2</sup> We hear the echo of a war between the Magadha Emperors and Vidarbha in the *Malavikāgnimitra* of Kalidāsa Agnimitra, the son of Pushyimitra, the first king of the Sunga dynasty, reigned at Vidisa in the second and third quarters of the second Century B.C. He proposed marriage with Madhiki, whose brother Madhavasena had a quarrel with his cousin Yajnasena king of Vidarbha. When Madhavasena was on his way to Vidisa in Malva, Yajnasena's general imprisoned him but his councillor Sumati and sister Malvika escaped. Agnimitra demanded the release of Madhavasena but Yajnasena agreed to do so only on condition that his wife's brother, (styled Muryasachinra in the drama) kept in imprisonment by Agnimitra, be released. Agnimitra vanquished Yajnasena and Vidarbha was divided between Madhavasena and Yajnasena.

<sup>1</sup> The महाभारत mentions the विदर्भ among fighters in the great war occurs in the list of countries in the भीमपर्व (७.६५) In the दान्तिपर्व (२७.३) we are told that विदर्भ was a very religious nation 'राष्ट्रे धर्मोत्तरे श्रेष्ठ विदर्भेष्वभवद् दिगि ।' In the मत्स्यपुराण Chap. 41 we learn that king Jyāmagha had a wife Chātrā from whom was born विदर्भ, whose sons were क्रय, कैशिक and लोमपाद (५.५६) कैशिक had a son चेदि from whom the चैच kings took their name (५.३७). In the भागवतपुराण (१.३४) we read that विदर्भ had three sons कुर, क्रय and लोमपाद, the 5th incident from the latter being चेदि. In the विष्णुपुराण (V. Lion Vol. 4 p. 67 ff.) we are told that विदर्भ had three sons क्रय, कैशिक and लोमपाद, क्रय was the ancestor of the भोज, कैशिक was the father of चेदि, the progenitor of the चैच kings. In the हरिवंश (Lan. Vol. 1 p. 163) विदर्भ is similarly made father of क्रय, कैशिक and लोमपाद, but it makes चेदि the son of a second कैशिक, great grandson of लोमपाद. In the Vedābhyaśataka (Cowell's Jātaka, Vol. 1 p. 121) a churning called Vedābhya is said to have been known to a Brahmin whose pupil the कौथिसत्व was. Both are said to have come to the country of Chēdi (चेदि ?) and met with two robbers. Kalidāsa uses the word कयकैशिक (खुवश 5. 32. 81 and 7. 20) for the people of विदर्भ. From Kalidāsa's description it appears that the नमदा had to be crossed while going from उत्तरकोसल to the capital of विदर्भ (which was बुण्डिन according to खु 7. 33).

<sup>2</sup> काव्यदर्श 1. ५५ अस्त्वेनेहो गिरां मार्गं शुद्धमभेद परस्परम् । तत्र विदर्भगीतायो वप्येन प्ररकुल्लरो ॥

the Varada (modern Vardha river) being the boundary between the two kingdoms. The *Draśakumara-charita* (VIII Uchhhvasta) mentions six feudatory kingdoms of Vidarbha viz., Akurika, Kuntala, Murabha, Richhika, Konkana and Sisakya (Is it Nasik?). The Bhoyas ruled in Vidarbha (*Raghuvamśa* V, 79-80 and *Draśakumara-charita* VIII). Even the *Mithibharita* tells us that Bhishma of a king of the Bhujas in Bhujikata and called Lord of Dakshinaty is submitted to Jarasandha.<sup>1</sup> The Bharhut Stupa has an inscription commemorating a donation from a nun of Bhujikataka.<sup>2</sup> The Bhujikata<sup>3</sup> kingdom is mentioned in the Chumuk copper plate of the Vikatika Mithariga Pravarasena II.<sup>4</sup> Thus we see that from very ancient times Vidarbha (modern Berar and the country beyond it) on almost all

form part of Maharashtra.

The country of Kuntala was also well known from very ancient times. Its exact boundaries are a matter of great difficulty. Dr Burgess says that "Kuntala stretched from the Narmada in the north to somewhere about Tungabhadra (or further) in the south, having the Arabian Sea for its border on the west and reaching the Godavari and the Eastern Ghats on the north-east and south-east. But these boundaries are much too exaggerated as they would make Kuntala embrace the whole of the peninsula except the southernmost part of it and would leave no room for Maharashtra or would make

<sup>1</sup> See समापर्व 14. 22. "अनुधवाद्महाराजो भोज इन्द्रसखो बली । विद्या बलाद्यो व्यजयन् सपाण्ड्यक्रयार्थिवान् । आता यस्याहति शरा जामदग्न्यसमोऽभवत् । स भक्तो मागध राजा भाम्भर परवीरहा ।" समापर्व (Chap. 3-63) doesn't say how सहदेव came in his career of conquest to भाम्भर king of भोजकट.

<sup>2</sup> Bharhut Stupa (Comm. n. 3, 111) p. 123.

<sup>3</sup> V. V. Smith ident. Soc. आजिकटा in the list of Ga. inscriptions of U. C. pur J. R. A. S. 1914 p. 330.

<sup>4</sup> Cor. I Vol. III p. 255.

The modern name Vardha seems to connect itself with the data. In the *Vala-champu* of त्रिविक्रमभट्ट we read "वीरपुरुष वरदाहरदाहनामक महाराष्ट्रम् । दक्षिण मरुह्वती सा वदति विदर्भा नदी यत्र ॥" 666. It is possible that the word महाराष्ट्र is used here as the name of a country and then the position etc. would be that that part of महाराष्ट्र called वरदाहना is a land of heroes.

<sup>5</sup> A. S. W. J. Vol. III p. 73.



the latter its sub-division. But we have seen that Maharashtra was a separate country from at least the 5th Century A. D., and that Badāmi was its capital in the 7th Century. In my opinion, Kuntala may be roughly described as the country from the Bluma and Kpishoa to some distance beyond the Tungabhadra and included Kolhapur and the other Southern Mahratta States such as Miraj, Belgaum and Dharwar districts, a portion of the Vizim's dominions and of the Mysore State and North Canara. It will be seen from the quotations given below that the modern districts of Belgaum and Dharwar were the heart of Kuntala. Mr Rice defines Kuntala as the country between the Bluma and the Vedavati, bounded on the west by the Ghats and including the Shimoga and Chitaldurg districts of Mysore, Bellary, Dharwar and Bijapur and certain tracts in the Vizim's dominions.<sup>1</sup> According to Dr Fleet Kuntala included Kanavasi in North Canara, Belgaum and Harthar in Mysore, Hampi or Vijayanagar in the Bellary district, to the north of these places Mangal, Lakshmeshwar, Lakkundi, Gadag in Dharwar, further to the north Belgaum, Srundatti, Manoli, Konnur in the Belgaum district, Paggadikal, and Aihole in Bijapur and still more to the North Terdaia in the Sangli State, Bijapur itself and Kalyani (see Bom G., Vol. I, part 2, p. 43). When the Vakatakas, the Chalukyas, the Rashtrakutas and the Yadavas were at the height of their power, Kuntala formed part of their dominions and so came under Maharashtra.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Mysore and Coorg I on the inscriptions, p. 3 (1901) quoted in J. R. A. S. (1911) p. 330.

<sup>2</sup> In the महाभारत, कुन्तला are referred to. भाष्यपत्र १५०. One of the river plains at Ajanta recites that the वाकाटक king धृतिवीर्य, son of रुद्रसेन, conquered कुन्तल and that another वाकाटक king हरिवर्षा conquered कुन्तल, अवन्ति, कलिङ्ग, कोसल, त्रिफल, छोट and आभी (Murgues and Bhagwanth's cave temples p. 70 J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. VIII p. 57; A. S. W. L. IV, p. 124 J. R. A. S. 94 pp. 324-327). The वामसूत्र of वात्स्यायन (Chap. 3, p. 131) refers to a कुन्तलशातकर्ण 'कतया कुन्तल शातकर्णि शतवाहनो महादेवी मलयवती (जपान)'. We have seen above that according to the दशकुमारचरित कुन्तल was under the king of विदर्भ. The Yawar inscription of the चातुर्वर्षिकुमारदिव्य or शिवुवनमह dated Saka 600 (A. D. 1077) informs us that through कुन्तल the flowed कृष्णवेणी 'विख्यानकृष्णवेणीनेलरनेहोपस्थसरस्वती । कुन्तलविषयो निनरा विराजते महिकामोद ॥' मयूरवर्म mentioned as the brother of the कदम्ब king of Kanara was said to have brought 8 माहाण्डा from Maharashtra and established them in कुन्तल, which





chandra dated Saka 1193 (1771-72 A. D.) records a grant of the village of Vadasthana on the northern bank of the Godavari and calls it the ornament of Seunadesa.<sup>3</sup> In the Vratakhanda of Hemadri, we are told that Deogiri was situated in Seunadesa and that the latter was on the confines of Dilakranya.<sup>4</sup> The Prataparudra Vasobhūshana speaks of the Yadava kings of Seunadesa.<sup>5</sup> The Kakatiya king Prataparudra (1295-1313 A. D.) is said to have vanquished the Yadava king of Sevala, that had crossed the Gautami river (Godavari). From this it appears that Seunadesa extended from the Godavari northwards to Degiri (modern Daulatabad).<sup>6</sup>

Before proceeding further, it is better to say a few words on the terms used to denote the divisions and sub-divisions of a country in our authorities. The commonest or most usual term for a country is *Desa* as in Seunadesa. Another generic term for a country met with in the Puranas and other Sanskrit works (like the *Madakumaracharita*) is Janapada.<sup>7</sup> The *Amtrakosa* gives *Desa*, Janapada and *Vishaya* as synonyms.<sup>8</sup> It must be said at the outset that

<sup>3</sup> I. A. Vol. 14 pp. 345. Between Seungachandra and Bhilama III, six kings intervened.

<sup>4</sup> For G. V. I. part pp. 291 and 312. At page 291 it is suggested that the name मेउणदेश is preserved in the modern Khandesh between which it resided there is a close resemblance. One fails to see how मेउण came to be converted into खान्. Is it possible that Khandesh was so named after the king Kanha Gidavahana (See Bank Inscription No. 20) or better still after Kanhana Yada a of Degiri (see J. B. R. R. V. Vol. IV p. 246 for a grant of his). It may be that the country came to be so called on account of its dark soil (कृष्णदेश changed into कृष्णदेश from which Khandesh is an easy corruption).

\* “रे रे सेवण कस्तनायमनिदपूर्वोच गर्भे महानुत्तीर्णा किं येन गौतमनदी प्राप्नोसि मृत्योर्मुखम् । एषा काकतिव्रीरद इति किं नाश्रापि सप्ताक्षरी प्रभुभ्यः प्रतिपक्षपार्थिवमहाभूतमहोच्छाटनी ॥” रसप्रकरण p. 146 of the *Bahamani* series. “राज्ञो यादनशपार्थिवमणे प्रहयातशौर्यश्रियस्त्वद्गुह्यगुह्यतुरङ्गसेन्यमहतो मानैः कृत्तस्य च । सद्यो रुद्रनरेन्द्रनायकचमूनायेन केनाप्यधिक्षिप्तस्याचरितानि सेवणपतेर्जानाति सा गौतमी ॥” अन्धकारप्रकरण p. 16. In our interpretation “प्राप्तवणा सेवणा”

p. 133

<sup>7</sup> See *History* by 113. I. vol. I & II p. 55

See *रस* वायुपुराण, Ch. 45. 09 म. स्य. 1. 41 म. सुगुण 27. 34

<sup>8</sup> गौतमनदी दशविंशती गुणननम्

ancient usage is not uniform in the employment of terms denoting a country and its sub-divisions. I shall try to give what appears to be the general usage about each term and note the exceptions if any.<sup>1</sup> In doing so I shall illustrate my remarks by naming most of the known sub-divisions of Maharashtra.

In epigraphic records we often come across the words 'Rashtrapati' (ruler of a province), 'Vishayapati' (lord of a district) and 'Gramahūj' (head of a village).<sup>2</sup> From the order in which the terms occur it is clear that Rashtra is a division larger than Vishaya.<sup>3</sup> In the inscriptions of Southern India we meet with the terms Manjila, Naluk and Ur (township) which correspond to Rashtra, Vishaya and Grama. The word Manjila is often employed in the same sense as Desha or Rashtra, e.g., in Mahashimurgha (for which, see above p. 62). But the Sahyadrikhandi that hangs loosely on to the Skandapurana says that a Desha comprises 100 villages, that a Manjila is equal to four Deshas and that a Khandi comprehends a hundred Manjilas.<sup>4</sup> At all events Manjila was larger in extent than Visaya or Bhukti.<sup>5</sup> The term Desha though generally applied to such large tracts as Maharashtra, Karnataka is sometimes used for small ones. For example in a grant found at Goa, dated Śaka 532 (610-11 A.D.) the district of

<sup>1</sup> See Dr. Fleet's note on these terms for political divisions in Corpus I vol. III p. 32 n. 7.

<sup>2</sup> See I. A. vol. VIII p. 20 (grant of वाडवय त्रिभुवनमल्लदेव, dated Śaka 678 or 1077-78 A.D.) and I. A. vol. pp. 206, 252 (grant of राष्ट्रवृत्त गणेश, dated Śaka 853 or 951-52 A.D.).

<sup>3</sup> The term राष्ट्र seems to have sometimes been applied to territories that could not have been very large. For example गणपराष्ट्र, the present Nand District (to which see above). But in a grant गोपराष्ट्र itself is termed a विषय (I. A. vol. VIII p. 12). The Bindapatha (about 430 A.D.) mentions countries called Nukumbhara, tham and Vātarat-ha (S. B. E. vol. 75 p. 43). The latter cannot be identified. The former was probably Khandesh. We have an inscription of a Nukumbhara ruler that began to reign in Khandesh about 600 A.D. See I. A. vol. VIII p. 39.

<sup>4</sup> 'शतमामो भवेत्तस्य देशस्य चत्वारि मण्डलम् । शतमण्डलं भवेत्तण्ड नवमण्डलं च मेदिनी' ॥ सप्तमद्विखण्ड (Ed. Gerson Da Cunha) उत्तरार्ध (Chap. 4). The सप्तमद्विखण्ड is it must be admitted a very late work and is not of much authority as a linguistic source of ancient History and Geography. From the Cambridge plates of I. A. vol. 9 pp. 100-101 that मण्डलं was a subdivision of Desha (I. A. vol. III p. 4). 'लातूरस्यैव मण्डलान्तर्गत-काठिकामहास्थानविनिर्गताय'.

<sup>5</sup> I. A. vol. 15 p. 107 where Panakagranta is the name of the village belonging to the Vājayikeshanaya in 'आपस्तिमण्डल' is referred to.

Chief district (used in Kāśī in the Rājagṛha district) is turned into Dāśa. Similarly we find the term Dāśa applied to the tract about Murgā or Murgā (modern Murg) and Kūṣṭh (modern Jalpān and Dhārwar). We have seen above that Vishva is a division less than a Manjira and it seems that it was less than a Dāśa. The term Vishva is however, often applied to such large tracts as the Kankana. We find the terms Dāśa and Vishva indiscriminately applied to the same tract of country. Vishva seems to have been a finer division than Dhāra and Pūṭhā or Pūṭhaka. The exact relationship between Vishva and Bhukta is not quite clear. Bhukta is certainly less than a Manjira. In some places it seems that Bhukta was larger than Vishva. Whatever the relationship may be, there are indications that Pūṭhā was comparatively a small division. In the Samangrāṇī grant of Rājagṛha, Dantidurgā, dated Śaka 675 (753-54 A. D.) we meet with Koppirāṇa as a Bhukta. In the Pūṭhā plates of A. D. 731 we read of a grant by the Rājagṛha

1 J N N R 2 5 3 1 4 pp 204 2/2

\* See J. H. B. & Co. Vol VIII p. 1 Grant of the Sultan Mahamudjahann  
to Asaf Khan dated Bakeri year 1000 A.D. i.e. Hijri 978, 16 Aug. 1570 or  
thereabouts grant of निमोदित्य II to शिवसिंह the राजपूत

\* A grant of राष्ट्रकूट गोविन्द III dated Sahasra has 'नागशिवदेवाय वदन्तरिपया नमः' भवप्रसाद.' (I I I I p. 15) 193.

\* See for वीरगविसम (I A. V) 13, pp 23 (2) a grant of the राष्ट्रपति अरान्यपे  
कृष्णराय, dated 24th Nov 1882 A.D. and I A. XI p 203 for a quantum of milie  
मणधरसाधनर in Pankist (वृत्तगविसम, &c)

\* We have a harsh, tsked vi have (See Burgess and Shyganalis Cave Temp. p. 102) while we had ~~not~~ [25] also above

\* ५०७ D H L १५१ ६७१३ where a the immigrant we read 'टाइरियाविष  
सन्निर्गतवर्णवल्ग्वारविषये'

\* I A Vol XV p 100 contains of a "टिप्पिकाग्राम" in the प्रतिष्ठानभुक्ति and attached to it a बाराणसीपथर which belonged to the "बाराणसीविषय"

\* See [A. V. 15 p. 107 quoted abn. 0

\* See A V I as p. 97 where the Yang chhi grant of Vgrahapa lade III records a gift of some land in Ichavaden shrya to the Lu Jea vadhanna Bhukt; the Mue rlist of Thap h 2 is in the same place (p 85) records a grant of the village of Hle-ha to the Kr nlaya huya of the Si rinagarabhukta.

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king Govinda III of a village named Limburamukā in the Śrīka-chappa twelve in Pratihāna bhukti (I I, Vol III, p 103) As the Godwari is one of the boundaries of the village granted Pratihāna-bhukti here means the district round Pathra In the Rādhanpur grant of Rishtrakuta Govind III of Śāli 710 (807 A D in this case) we read of a Rasiyana-bhukti<sup>1</sup> (Modern Rasin in the Ahmednagar district) The word Bhoga (derived from the same root as Bhukti) was employed to denote a territorial division The Satara copper plate of Vishnuvardhana I (the founder of the eastern Chulukyas) registers a grant of the village of Alandaturtha in the Śrāndyabhoga on the north of the Agrhara of Anopala and on the south bank of the river Bhimarathi (I A, Vol 19, pp 303, 304) Dr Fleet identifies Alandaturtha with Alundh, five miles north-west of Bhor and not with Alundi in the Poona district which is on the north bank of the Indrayani An Ahara as a sub-division was less than a Vishaya as we have seen and larger than a Pathaka A grant of Śiladitya VII dated in 447 of the Gupta valabhī era (i.e. 766-67 A D) speaks of a village Mahila-bili in Uppalahetipathaka in Śrīkhetakahara (modern Kaira district in Gujrat)<sup>2</sup> Besides the abovementioned Khetakadhara in Gujrat we find the following Aharas viz Govardhana<sup>3</sup> (modern Nasik district), Kapura<sup>4</sup> (probably on the sea coast in Konkan), Soparaka<sup>5</sup> (modern Sopara near Bombay), Mumuk<sup>6</sup> (modern Murad in the Poona district), Kheta (modern Khed in the Ratnagiri district) It will have been noticed that many of these divisions termed Ahara go so back as the first century of the Christian era Patha or Pathaka was less than Vishaya and Ahara We come across a Pathanapatha<sup>7</sup> (modern Pathra) a Khatipakapathaka in Surashtra<sup>8</sup> (modern Kathiawar) a Kishupakapathaka in Varanavishya<sup>9</sup> and Uppalheipathaka<sup>10</sup> in the Kura district Sitahi seems to have been a division

<sup>1</sup> I A. VI 92

<sup>2</sup> See Cor I III p 171

<sup>3</sup> Nasik inscriptions No 2 Bom C Vol. 6 p 151

<sup>4</sup> Nasik inscriptions No 12 Bom C Vol. VI 106 p 372

<sup>5</sup> A S. W. I Vol. V p 16 (Kanhohr Inscriptions No. 5)

<sup>6</sup> In an inscription at Khatem dated in the 24th year of the Jethputra's time for which see J B R. A. S. V. p. 14 No. 108 p. 462

<sup>7</sup> See J B R. A. S. V. I 2 p 15—grant of the village of Kurelka by the ruler of Peratidya dated Śaka 533 (650-51 A.D.)

<sup>8</sup> Kanhohr Inscriptions No. 3 A. S. W. I V p 16

<sup>9</sup> I A. Vol. VI p 15 (Grant of भुवनेश्वर II of Valabhi dated in वर्षभिमवत् 10 i.e. 613 A.D.) J B R. A. S. V. I 2 p 17 (Grant of धर्तसेन III of वर्धमि era 326 i.e. 645 A.D.)

<sup>10</sup> I A. V L 151 104

See above

larger than Petha.<sup>1</sup> In the Khoh copper plate of Mahārāja Samkshobha of the Gupta era 209 (552-29 A.D.) we meet with a *Munajet-pajha*. *Pajha* seems to have been a term for a division of a country. A copper plate of Mahārāja Harsha of the Gupta year 163 (482-83 A.D.) records a grant of *Korparikigrahara* to 'Lihampalla'.<sup>2</sup> *Santaka* seems to have been another territorial subdivision.<sup>3</sup> *Bhāga* is a term for a territorial division which occurs in the Seoni copper plate of the Vakataki Mahārāja Pravarasena II, where we read of 1 *Vennāk* & 1 *parabhāga*<sup>4</sup> (which must have been near modern Flichpur). *Kampina*<sup>5</sup> (sometimes written as *Crampina*) as a term for a division occurs very frequently. We read of a *Kundiriga Kampina* which formed part of the Kānhiya area. A grant of the Kadamba Jayakesin I of Goa speaks of 1 *Kampina* called *Kaligiri*.<sup>6</sup> A copperplate of the Śilīhara Bhūjī of Pūnarī dated Śaka 1113 (1191-92 A.D.) records a grant in the village of *Kavch* in the *Vijayekampina*<sup>7</sup> (*Ashvaretem* in the Ratnagiri district). We find a *Munijekampina* 300 while the *Munijidesa* is also described as a 3000 province.<sup>8</sup>

In the epigraphic records we come across certain numbers that are always affixed to certain territorial divisions e.g. *Rajipali* 7½ lakhs, *Gangavali* 1 lakh 000, *Solunihavali* 37,000, *Kavadiadipri* 12,500, *Banavasi* 12,000, *Turigirje* 6,000, *Karahara* 4,000, *Kanhi* 3,000, *Munija* 3,000, *Konkani* 1,400 (Southern Konkani), *Tardevali* 1,000, *Konkan* 1,000 (Northern Konkani near Goa) &c. The significance of these numbers we have discussed above. What is worthy of note is that these large round numbers are rarely affixed after territorial divisions of the northern portion of Maharashtra, i.e., the territory from the *Narmada* to the *Godavari* and a little beyond the latter. It is not easy to offer a satisfactory explanation. This difference may be due to the fact that the southern portion of Maharashtra was closely connected with Southern India where these divisions with round numbers abound. In

<sup>1</sup> See I. A. 15 p. 187 where is recorded a grant of the village of *Vatagrama* in the *Kpanakapetha* and in the *Ilavahāntathali* by *वर्सेन* II dated 572 A.D.

<sup>2</sup> Cor. I III p. 116.

<sup>3</sup> Cor. I III p. 105, 207.

<sup>4</sup> We read of a *Vagadryavan* also in the *Kāntalā* grant of Mahārāja Jayasinhā dated 497-98 A.D. Cor. I III 217, 218.

<sup>5</sup> Cor. I III 243, 246.

<sup>6</sup> J. B. B. R. A. S. X p. 18.

<sup>7</sup> J. B. B. R. A. S. IX pp. 2. Some grant dated in *अश्वमेध* 4400.

<sup>8</sup> See the report of the *भारत इतिहास समीक्षक मण्डल* for Śaka 811 pp. 220, 225.

<sup>9</sup> Bon. C Vol. I part 2 p. 155. See I. A. Vol. 16 p. 145 which records a grant by the *Chalukya* *Vijaya* in the year of *July* *अश्वमेध* in the village named *Sigra* in the *W. C. C. of Anpara*.



illustrating the various terms used for territorial divisions, I have gone over most of the subdivisions, both large and small of Maharashtra. But two or three of them deserve more than a passing notice. First comes Kundl which was a 3000 province. It included almost the whole of the modern Belgaum district a portion of the Kolhapur territory and of the Sangli State and of Dharwar.\*

Next comes the Mirinja country. It was also a 3000 province. It was variously spelt as Mirinja, Mairinja and Mirinjā. It included the modern Miraj, Kurundwad and a portion of the Bijapur district† and may have included a portion of the southern part of Konkan just below the Ghats. The Mahamangaleswari Silāśra Gandaraditya is said to have reigned over the Mirinja Deśa together with Konkan and the seven Kholis (valleys)‡. Even Mirinja Nagara is referred to as Karahataka (modern Karhād) was a 4000 province. It may have covered the whole of the modern Satara district and a portion of Bhor and Phaltan States§. About the antiquity of Karahataka we shall speak later on. A Pratyandaka 4000 province is mentioned in the Tidgundi plate of 1082 A. D. the ruler of which was the Sinda chief Munjarajadeva (C. I., Vol. III p. 310). Dr. Fleet identifies this province with modern Phaltan (I. A. Vol. 30, pp. 380-81).

### GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

In these days we often hear it said that the form of Government in ancient India was a limited monarchy or that it was popular and democratic in spirit and not despotic. On the other hand there are

\* See I. A. 14, pp. 21-25 where Kundl is said to be a 3000 province and to have included Tendila (modern Tendla in Sangli State) I. A. Vol. 6, p. 73 where the Altagaṇa (modern Alip in the Kolhapur State) is said to be a formed part of the Kundl province. In I. A., Vol. 22, p. 278, Dr. Fleet gives an interesting note on the Kund country. His conclusions are that the Kund 3000 province was only a part of a much larger territory known by the name of Kund and that Kund 3000 of the Rattas was probably bounded on the north by the Krishna and Dudhganga on the west by a line which left the Dudhganga close on the west of Bhor and ran irregularly southward on the west of the point and Bankachwar and the east of Horte. These boundaries stretch rather too far and would not leave sufficient room for Mirinja and Karahataka.

† J. R. H. K. V. S. Vol. XII p. 7 for Kurundwad being a part of Mirinja Deśa.

‡ J. P. B. R. A. S. Vol. XIII p. 1. See I. A. Vol. 34, p. 304 for Dr. Fleet's note on Mirinja Deśa.

§ Burgess and Bhagwanlal's Cave Temples, pp. 102, 103.

\* I. A., Vol. 22, p. 278. Dr. Fleet adds that the bounds of Karahataka can be indicated only partially. According to him, no portion of the Karahataka district was so far from the boundary as beyond the Krishna. On the north of it was the Pratyandaka 4000 province. To the east was Yardi. A 4000 (Tadgaṇa) which was the south bank of the Krishna was less north-east of our Report.

Western writers who say<sup>1</sup> the great Empires of the East were in the main tax-collecting institutions. They exerted coercive force on their subjects of the most violent kind for certain purposes and at certain times, but they do not impose laws in distinct form particular and occasional commands. Nor do they judicially administer and enforce customary laws.<sup>2</sup> In my humble opinion neither the enthusiastic but exaggerated encomiums of the former, nor the biased and sweeping condemnation of the latter represents the truth about the ancient empires of India. In the following pages an endeavour will be made to convey a fair estimate of the state of government in ancient India.

Before proceeding further it will be necessary to make certain preliminary remarks. Ancient Indian writers had clear notions as to what constitute the essential elements of a state and their respective importance. The Arthashastra of Kautilya lays down that there are seven elements of the state, viz. the ruler, the minister, the country, the fort, the treasury, the army and the friend.<sup>3</sup> The Manusmriti inserts 'the capital' before the country and omits 'the fort' and says that each preceding is more important than each succeeding one.<sup>4</sup> Thus we shall see the ruler was regarded as the most important element of the state. The King is consequently glorified as a veritable deity and an arch is condemned in the strongest terms in such works as the Manusmriti and the Rāmāyaṇa.<sup>5</sup> The latter work contains one of the most graphic descriptions of the evils of anarchy.<sup>6</sup> But in spite of the fact that the office of the ruler was looked upon with the greatest veneration, Sanskrit writers did not evolve the theory that the king could do just as he pleased. In the Sanskrit writings we hear very little of the rights and privileges of kings, but the whole emphasis is laid on their duties. Instead of the favourite clamour of the Americans that taxation and representation go hand in hand

<sup>1</sup> See T. H. Green's Lectures on the principles of Political obligation quoted in Prof. A. Yangar's Ancient Indian Pol. p. 137.

<sup>2</sup> 'राज्यमास्य राजपददुग्धोददण्डमिनाणि प्रकृतयः' अर्थशास्त्र अधि० ८ पृ० ३३५.

• 'राज्यमास्यो पुरंराष्ट्रं वशिदण्डौ शुद्धतया । सप्त प्रकृतयो ह्येताः सप्ताक्षं राज्यमुच्यते ॥ सप्तानां प्रह्वीनां तु राज्यस्यासौ यथाक्रमम् । पूर्वं पूर्वं गुणैर ज्ञानीयादयमन महत् ॥ मनु० ७. ३५७३

• 'इन्द्रविक्रममार्हाणामग्नेश्च वरुणस्य च । उद्रविस्तेष्वक्षैर माया निहत्य शाश्वती ॥ यस्मादथा सुरेन्द्रार्णो मानाभ्यो निमित्तो नृप । तस्माद्भिक्षरचैष सवभूतानि तेनमा ॥' मनु० ७. ६५

• अयोध्याकाण्ड अ० ३४

Indian writers say that taxation and protection of the people go hand in hand. The ideal king is he who taxes the people for their welfare, who maintains the rules of the *Varnas* and *Āśramas* and who affords protection to his subjects. This is the goal of kingship prescribed not only by altruistic philosophers and poets<sup>1</sup> but even by practical politicians like Kautilya trained in the hard school of intrigue and bloodshed<sup>2</sup>. In one place Kautilya says 'the welfare of the king lies in the welfare of his subjects, his happiness is the happiness of his subjects'. These words remind us of the famous proclamation of the late Queen Victoria which breathes the same sentiment in the words 'in their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security and in their gratitude our best reward'.

According to the theory of ancient Sanskrit writers on political administration the king was the head of the Government. He was to be assisted by a council of high ministers whose number varied from eight to twenty<sup>3</sup>. He was to convene a meeting of his councillors when any important business arose and was to act on the advice of the majority. The *Sūkrantī*<sup>4</sup> lays down that the king's council should consist of ten ministers and describes their functions. These ten ministers were — Purodhas (the priest) Pratinidhi (vicerent) Pradhana (Premier) Sishya (Commander) Mantri (Councillor), Pradivaka (Chief Justice) Pinika (Scholar) Samant, Amatya and Duta (Spy). We are informed by the *Sūkrantī* that according to some, the king's council should consist of eight ministers only, omitting the Purodhas (priest) and the Duta. The functions of these ministers were as follows<sup>5</sup> — 'The Pratinidhi is he who knows what is to be done and what is not to be done. The Pradhana is he who has an eye on all things. The Sishya is the man who knows

<sup>1</sup> Kautilya says 'प्रजनमेव भूयर्थे स ताम्या बलिमग्रहान्' रघु० १ : १३ अथमगमदाज्ञान भवेत्तस्य तु भूपत । यो हरेच्छलिपद्मान न च रक्षति पुत्रवत् ॥ रामायण अरण्यकाण्ड ६, ११

<sup>2</sup> 'प्रजगुणे गुण राष्ट्र प्रजानां चरिते हितम् । नात्मापि हित राष्ट्र प्रजानां तु मित हितम् ॥' अर्थशास्त्र अधि १, २-२०

<sup>3</sup> Kautilya's *Artha Śāstra* p. २० 'मन्त्रिपरिषद् द्वादशमायान् बुधैरिति मानवा । पात्रेणैव वार्द्धमप्य । विद्वानिनिपन्नस । यथामाध्यमिति वीरिण्य । आत्ययिके वार्ये दीनानो मन्त्रिपरिषद् चान्य मूषाश्च । तत्र वद्विषा कावर्मिद्विवर वा मयुस्तानुयोश्च ।'

<sup>4</sup> S. B. H. Vol. XII p. 68.

<sup>5</sup> S. B. H. Vol. XII (Ch. 12) p. 74

all about the army. The Mantri is one who is an adept in diplomacy.<sup>2</sup> The Pin hit is the person who is well up in the theory of religion and morals. The Pradiv hit is he who has knowledge of men, Sastri is and morals. The Amatin is known to be the person who has know-  
ledge of lands and records. The Sumitra is he who knows of the  
income and disbursements.

Passing over the numbers of the king's council and coming to the gradation of officers we see that according to the *Samitis* the village was the lowest unit of administration and the headman of the village the lowest officer. The *Manusmriti* says that the king should appoint officers for each village for ten villages for twenty one hundred and a thousand villages and that the headman of the village was to submit reports about his village to the head of ten villages and so on.<sup>1</sup> We learn from the *Sulkrishi* that an average village was 1 krośa<sup>2</sup> in area and yielded a revenue of 1 thousand silver Karshas.<sup>3</sup> The person appointed over ten villages was called a *Niyāta* the ruler of ten villages was called a *Samānta* and one who governed 1000 villages was called *Āpāṇa* or *Samānta*.<sup>4</sup> The *Sulkrishi* specifies another method of distinguishing the several titles of rulers of smaller or larger areas. A *Samānta* is one whose yearly revenue is from one to three lakh Karshas, a *Mandalika* between three to ten lakh Karshas, a *Rājā* between ten to twenty lakh Karshas, a *Maharājā* between twenty to fifty lakhs, a *Satrapa*

१ धामस्याधिपतिं युवाद्यश्चमपि तथा । विशन्तीन् गतम च सदस्तपतिष्वेव च ॥  
 धामरोषान् समुत्पन्नप्रामिव शनै रवयम् । शपेद् धामदेशेनाय द्वाशो विंशतीनि ॥  
 विशन्तीदारु तासर्वे शान्नाय निषेयेत् । शमद् धामशनश्चरन् सद्व्यपगये भवयम् ॥ मनु०  
 १॥३॥१७

<sup>1</sup> परमादीश्वर n h e comment n आर्यभट्ट, दशुगीतिसम्बन्ध (The hermaphrodite) 16 235

‘उक्तं च तत्परिमाणं तन्वा नटे । यथाद्वैतरह्णुज्जमरयर्हणोगुणे षड्गुणिश्रुतम् ।  
हस्तैश्वर्यभिर्भवोद्दृष्टं काशं सहस्रद्वितयं नेपाग् ॥’ According to the काश  
as a measure of old land is one देशद, or 8000 cubits. So the area of a हास would be  
(8000 x 8,000) 64,000,000 square cubits or about 15,000,000 square yards, or 3 1/2 miles  
(square). But according to the शुक्लनिधि, कोश is 3000 cubits of प्रजापति be flooded  
and 4000 cubits of मनु be followed and the area of a कोश would be two crore and a  
half cubits with the प्रजापति reckoning. 5 B II Vol III p 25

\* A Karala was equal to thirty Ratna and less than a Tola which equal to 66 Ratna. So even Karshabha would be equal to 811 Ropes.

\* S. B. H. Vol. VIII (6 seran 7 p. 25.

income is between fifty lakhs and 1 crore, a Samrat's income is between one and ten crores, a Viri's income between ten and fifty crores. A Sivabhumia's income exceeds fifty crore varshas.<sup>1</sup> It seems that the titles given above and the incomes corresponding to each are more fanciful than real and display more the author's love for symmetry than his faithfulness to practical life. There is of course some basis of facts as to the titles of rulers. From the inscriptions we see that an emperor (Chakravartin) was usually distinguished by the titles, 'parameshvari, paramabhattarika, maharajadhiraja, that a king was usually styled simply Maharaja, that feudatory princes were called Mahamanvatesvari as the Sisabharis of Thana.

Among ancient Classical writers Strabo gives a detailed and interesting account of the several officers appointed to supervise the several branches of administration. He says 'Of the Magistrates, some have charge of the market, others of the city others of the soldiery. Some superintend rivers, measure land, inspect sluices and have charge of hunters. They collect taxes and supervise occupations connected with land. They look after public roads and erect a pillar to indicate byroads and distances at every tenth Stadia'.<sup>2</sup> Again we are told that those who have charge of the city are divided into six bodies of five each. The first inspect everything relating to industrial arts the second entertain strangers assign them lodgings and send them out of the country, the third enquire in what manner and at what time births and deaths occur not only for imposing taxes, but for preventing death, the fourth are occupied with retail and barter and weights and measures the fifth supervise manufactured articles and sell them by public notice the mixture of old and new being punished, the sixth collect the tenth part of the price of articles sold'. We shall compare this interesting account of the gradations of officers with the one contained in the Arthashastra and then try to find out what the inscriptions tell us about them.

(To be continued)

<sup>1</sup> See B B II Vol. VIII (शुक्लवर्णित), p. 31

<sup>2</sup> See XI Civil & Ancient India (Strabo) p. 83

<sup>3</sup> Id. d. p. 31